

THE ~~NEW~~
HISTORY
OF
Oliver Cromwel :
BEING AN
Impartial Account

Of all the Battles, Sieges, and
other Military Atchievements ,
wherein he was Ingaged , in
England, Scotland and Ireland.

AND LIKEWISE,
Of his Civil Administrations
while he had the Supream Govern-
ment of these Three Kingdoms,
till his Death.

Relating only Matters of Fact,
without Reflection or Observation.

By R. B.

Licensed and Entred.

LONDON, Printed for Nath. Crouch, at the
Bell in the Poultry, near Cheapside. 1693.



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F. H. van. Hove. sculp:

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TO THE READER.

THere have been few Persons upon whose actions so many different Sentiments have passed, as upon those of Oliver Cromwel; some advancing his Courage and Reputation to the height, others on the contrary, depressing them as low, and not allowing that he had any thing praise-worthy in his Conduct, in those great Employments and Offices, even the Government of the Three Nations which he passed through : Yea, they invade the Almighty's Province of judging the Hearts and Thoughts of Men, attributing all to Hypocrisie and Ambition, asserting that he had Hopes and Expectations of raising himself to that Grandeur whereto he after arrived, many years before he attained it ; nay, so early as when he was but a Collonel, and can hardly be thought to have had the least prospect thereof. But to leave every Man to his Opinion in this matter, I

To the Reader.

thought it might not be unacceptable to my Country-men, to give a plain and impartial Account of Matters of Fact performed and acted by him, both in his Military, and afterwards in his Civil Capacity, without Reflections on Parties, which ought to be the care of a faithful Historian, if he expects to be believed by Posterity. It is a Maxim, That great Vertues have been often mixed with great Vices in many great men in the World, neither is Cromwel excused from this Censure, who had several worthy and blameable Qualities in him; but since he is out of the reach either of good or bad Report, I shall leave him, and refer you to read his Achievements, which are briefly related in the following Manual.

R. B.

THE



T H E
HISTORY
O F
Oliver Cromwel.

Oliver Cromwel was descended of an Ancient Family in Huntington-shire, who had a very plentiful Estate; his Grandfather was Sir Henry Cromwel, a Person of good Reputation, and had issue five Sons, Sir Oliver his Eldest, Henry, Robert, Richard and Philip. This our Oliver Cromwel was Son of the third Brother Richard, who was likewise in much esteem in his Country, and Married Elizabeth Steward, Niece of Sir Robert Steward, a Gentleman of a considerable Estate in that Country, by whom he had this Oliver, who was born in the Town of Huntington, April 25. 1599. and had his Name given him by his Uncle Sir Oliver. When he was a Child, he seemed to delight in Man-like Exercises, and by the care of his Father was sent to the Free School of that Town, and afterward to Sydney College in Cambridge, where while he was

a Student, there were several Omens of his future Grandeur, and he was observed more to be enclined to the Military than Contemplative Life: During his continuance here his Father died, upon which he returned home, and spent his time in the Youthful Follies and Extravagancies incident to persons of his age and temper, whereupon his Mother, by the advice of her Friends, sent him up to London, and placed him in Lincolns-Inn, thereby to qualifie him for a Gentleman, and to put him into a Capacity to be serviceable to his Country.

Having continued here for some time, and not being able to confine himself to this Sedentary Employment, he again returns into the Country, and there proceeds in the same lewd courses as before, but as he grew in years he became more solid and considerate, insomuch that in a while he was as remarkable for his Sobriety, as before for his Rudeness and Vanity, which so much pleased and obliged his Uncle Sir Robert Steward, that he left him his Heir to a very fine Estate of four or five hundred pounds a year. But before this came into his hands by the Death of his Uncle, the reputation of it, and the remarkable alteration in his disposition, recommended him to Elizabeth, the Daughter of Sir James Boucher, whom he Married, and though at first, when this notable reformation was perceived in him, he adhered to the Church of England, frequenting the most famous Preachers with much seeming warmth and zeal, yet afterwards, when those called Puritans grew popular, he began to have a good opinion of them, inviting the Ministers to his House, and entertaining them with much kindness; and to demonstrate the reality of this change of his mind, there is an instance of his freely returning a considerable sum of Money to a person from whom he had won it some years before by Gaming.

Such actions, and the seeming sincerity of his Conversation,

versation, raised his esteem yet higher with all persons of that Party, who had such an opinion of his Wisdom and Abilities, that when King Charles I. called that Parliament in 1640. which for its duration was afterward Named the Long, he was by the Interest of his Friends elected Parliament-man for the Town of Cambridge. Soon after this the War began between the King and Parliament; one Party declaring they took Arms for defending the Prerogatives of the Crown and the other the Priviledges of Parliaments and Liberties of the People.

As soon as ever this fatal division happened wherein so many Thousands afterward lost their Lives and Estates, Cromwel, whose inclination was alwayes Martial, presently ingaged in the quarrel, and having obtained a Commission from the Parliament, quickly raised a Troop of Horse for their service, of the most promising men he could choose; and to try their Valour in jest, before they came to exercise it in earnest, he secretly ordered a dozen of them to issue out suddenly upon the rest, with a Trumpet sounding a Charge, as if they came from some of the Kings Garrisons that were not far off, which they performed with so much briskness, that about twenty of the new Troopers fled away with all possible speed, whom Cromwel having reproached for their Cowardice, dismounted and cashier'd, mounting their Horses with persons of a more courageous temper.

He was likewise nominated a Commissioner in the Ordinance for settling the Militia, whereby the Eastern Countries associated themselves together, declaring that they would stand by the Parliament against all Opposers, and Cromwel being sensible that the University of Cambridge was most inclined to the Royal Interest, he had a particular regard to the place of his Education, and very dexterously secured both the Town, and a great quantity of the Col-

ledge Plate, even at the very instant when it was upon the point of being conveyed to the King at Oxford. After this he forms a Garrison at Whittlesea, where a Bridge joins the County of Norfolk with the Isle of Ely, and is the only passage from thence into Lincolnshire, the greatest part whereof was possessed by the Kings party; and by this means he cut off all communication between the Loyal Gentlemen of both Counties, wherein he had the assistance of Coll. Ireton, with whom he here became first acquainted.

The King in opposition to the Association which the Parliament had settled, issued out his Commission of Array, which was first designed to be put in Execution by Sir Henry Connisby, High Sheriff of Hartford-shire at St. Albans, who thereby intended to have raised the County for the aid of the King, but while he was there going about to proclaim the Parliament, and their General the Earl of Essex, Traytors, by the vigilance of Cromwel he was prevented in his purpose, who coming suddenly into the Town with a party of Horse, surprized Sir Henry, and some other Gentlemen of his Assistants, whom he sent to London Prisoners, to the great satisfaction of the Parliament, who were somewhat disturbed that such an attempt should be made so near the City, and thereupon they returned him the thanks of the House, and from this time lookt upon him as a person of Merit and Conduct: After which he soon augmented his Troop to a Thousand, many being willing to adventure their lives with such a fortunate Commander, and about this time hearing that some Knights and Gentlemen were met together at Lowers-Tost in Suffolk, the chief of whom were Sir John Petus, Sir Edward Baker, &c. designing to have made a Counter Association in that County and Norfolk for the Kings service, with indefatigable diligence he marches thither, seizing and securing them all, which

which was a fatal blow to the Kings Interest, and Eyn Regis, which the Royalists maintained, being soon after surrendred; was so great a discouragement to them, that during the whole War they could never after find any opportunity to shew their affection to the Kings Cause.

The Associated Counties being thus firmly settled for the Parliament, Cromwel was made Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Manchester, who had a separate command of those Associated Counties, and was now ordered to march Northward with those Forces, and joyn with General Lesly and the Scots; assisted by Sir T. Fairfax, for reinforcing the Siege before York, then beleaguer'd by Lesly: In his march he blocks up the Garrison of Newark, and meeting some of their party at Grantham, he charged them with such fury, that though much superiour to him in number, yet himself marching in the Van, he soon put them to flight. Having thus made a quick dispatch at Newark, he proceeded to York, in which the Marquess of Newcastle had put the best part of the Kings Forces.

The King having had an advantage against the E. of Essex at Lestichell in Cornwall, sent away Prince Rupert as General, with a very powerful Army to raise the Siege of York, which he judged to be of great Importance; the three Generals, Lesly, Manchester, and Fairfax, drew off their Forces from the City to fight him, as knowing if they got the day, it must surrender to the Victor without blows. The Prince having notice of their raising the Siege, sent some of his Troops towards Haddingham, to face General Lesly and his Scots, but in the mean time enters into York with two thousand Horse, and all Provisions for their relief; after which, he resolved to fight the Parliamentarians, though much dissuaded by the Marquess of Newcastle, knowing what hazard the Estates of the Kings Friends would run if he

should miscarry, and that upon the fate of this Battel the gain or loss of the North depended. However, the Prince pretending to march to Tadcaster, Lesly with his Army followed him, but returning again suddenly to Marston-Moor, he takes what advantages of ground he thinks fit, and Lesly soon coming up, the Generals Marshall'd their Army in the best order they could for the shortness of time, Fairfax and Leslies Horse making the Right Wing, and the Scotch Troops and Manchesters the Left, under the command of Cromwel, which charge was that day committed to him, the Foot making up the main Body. The Armies being drawn up in this form, the first Onset was performed by Prince Ruperts Left Wing, with such fury as they broke the Parliaments Right, and persuing their advantage with much Vigour, the Earth was soon covered with the slain.

In the mean while Cromwel being in the Left wing and ignorant of the misfortune of the Right, with much Courage engages the Princes Right Wing, which quickly altered the Scene of Affairs, and snatch'd the Victory out of the Princes Hand, who seemed in probability to have obtained it, for the Lord Fairfax's Forces were totally dissipated, and beaten out of the Field, when Cromwel with his Troops fell on with such Resolution, that he routed the Prince and his reserves, and with the same Violence charged the Marquess of Newcastles Foot, who yet stood till the Field was almost cleared, and then were forced to give way to the number of their Enemies; there were many slain, especially in the pursuit, and Cromwel he obtained the name of Ironsides, from the impenetrable firmness of his Troops, which no force could separate or break. It is thought to be the bloodiest Fight that happened during the War, it being judged near ten thousand men were slain on both sides. Upon this defeat, Prince Rupert and his Followers charge the miscarriage upon the Marquess

of

of Newcastle, and he again upon them; who thereupon left the Kingdom. The consequence of this Victory was the rendition of York, which being now afresh besieged, and despairing of succour, Sir Thomas Glemham, the Valiant Governour was obliged to deliver it up.

This success raised Cromwel's reputation higher still, and the Parliament at Westminster were extremely pleased with his Courage and Prudence, that when he saw part of the Army routed, yet with an undaunted presence of mind, he took occasion from thence to animate his Souldiers to the more vigorous recovery of the Victory, even when the Scots had timorously left the Field, and of whom for this and other reasons, he had no great opinion afterward. Several other Exploits he was ingaged in both in the North and West, even before he had any considerable command, for while he was in the same quality under the Earl of Manchester, he was ordered to return to the North, to oppose the King then marching triumphantly from the West after the defeat of Essex, who having been unfortunate in his Enterprizes, Cromwel this successful Commander was joined with him, who at the second Battel at Newberry, about four months after that at Marston-Moor, was favoured, though not with a compleat Victory, yet with such good fortune, that where his Troops were, the Royalists gave back with so much precipitation, as greatly endangered the Kings person, had not the Earl of Cleveland interposed, and with much hazard prevented the pursuit.

The War still continuing with much bloodshed, and no period in probability like to be put to it, the Parliament apprehended want of Conduct in some of their chief Commanders, and therefore resolved to new model their Army, and that no offence might be given to any of their own Members by being discarded, they pass the self-denying Ordinance so called, whereby

whereby they declare, 'That no member of Parliament should bear Office in the Army, or Garrisons, but altogether attend the service of the House, unless they had leave for so doing; and that within forty days from the publishing thereof. By which proceeding, the Earls of Essex, Manchester and Denbigh, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, and divers others, were dismiss'd; after which they took care to recruit their Forces, which were much diminished by sickness, and the late defeat in the West, and in a short time they mustered a compleat Army of twenty one thousand; that is, fourteen thousand Foot, six thousand Horse, and one thousand Dragoons, over whom they constituted Sir Tho. Fairfax General, who gave out divers Commissions to them who were then newly called Independants, and among others Ireton was raised to be Commissary-General of the Horse, who had newly married one of Cromwells Daughters, and was as great a Politician as himself.

Upon publishing the fore-mentioned Ordinance, which was in the year 1645, Cromwel who was then in the West-country, in obedience thereto, immediately returns toward London, and having notice that Gen. Fairfax was at Windsor, he went to wait upon him by the way, and take his leave of him; but the Parliament were too sensible of his usefulness and conduct to discharge him, and therefore the next morning, as soon as he was risen, a Commission was sent him to be Lieutenant-General of the Horse to the whole Army. This alteration gave great hopes to the Royal Party of future success against this new Army, so many principal Commanders being laid aside and discontented, and such a number of unexperienced Youths Listed; but these expectations soon vanished, for Cromwel by virtue of the dispensing power of the Parliament, being still continued and advanced to so great a command, to make it appear that

that they were not mistaken in their choice, he instantly proceeds to Action, being sent by Fairfax with a flying party of Horse and Dragoons to intercept a convoy of two thousand Horse, consisting of the Queens, the Earl of Northhamptons, and Collonel Palmers Regiments, who with some other Troops, were marching to Oxford with a design to bring off the King and the Train of Artillery, and to procure Recruits for the Army, and so join with the Kings main mid-land Forces under Pr. Rupert, then about Worcester, and the borders of Wales, and then take the field. In this exploit Cromwel was so extream diligent, that with extraordinary celerity he met with surprized and routed them at Illip-Bridge, taking five hundred Horse, and two hundred Prisoners, with the Queens Standard, and many persons of Quality; and pushing on his success, having notice that Sir William Vaughan, with three hundred and fifty Foot, were marching toward Radcot-bridge, he followed them, taking their Commander, Lieutenant Coll. Littleton, and two hundred other Prisoners, persuing the rest to Blechingdon house, where Collonel Windebank was Governour, and in the height of his Victories summoned him to an immediate surrender, or else to expect the utmost vengeance of an enraged Souldiery. The Governour terrified with these threats, and being over-perswaded by some Ladies, who were there come to visit his Bride, he being newly married, and having little hopes of relief from Oxford, delivered up the House with all the Arms and Ammunition therein; for which, when he came to Oxford he was shot to death by sentence of a Council of War.

This Enterprize was reckoned as a happy Omen of his future success in his new honour, and the prudence of the Parliament magnified in continuing so deserving a Commander in the Army; who to secure his reputation, resolved upon a more dangerous attempt,
to

to reduce Faringdon-House, of which Sir George Lisle, a person of invincible courage, was Governor, and a Garrison which had been of great advantage to the King. To effect this considerable service, he took six hundred of M. Gen. Browns Foot at Abington, with which he instantly storm'd the place, but was as stoutly repulsed, and forced to retire with the loss of fifty of his Souldiers, and in his retreat was attackt by a party of L. Gorings Horfe, lately come from the siege of Taunton, who gave Cromwel the first check he had yet met with, taking three colours and Major Bethel prisoner, and then returned to the siege at Taunton.

At this time Fairfax had order to march to the relief of Taunton, and Cromwel was left behind with Brown, to watch the motions of the Kings Army at Oxford, who were then ready to take the field, and to prevent them from joining a brave body of Horfe that were coming out of Worcester-shire, under the command of the Princes Rupert and Maurice : But the Royal Army was grown so potent, that Cromwel durst not attempt either to fight, or hinder their march, so that Fairfax was presently remanded and ordered to lye before Oxford, to oblige the King to secure that place, and upon advantage to fight him ; when Intelligence came that the King having joined the two Princes, and raised the siege of Chester, beleaguered by Sir William Brereton, was now marching toward the Associated Counties, wherein lay the strength of the Parliament, whereupon Cromwel was ordered with all speed to secure the Isle of Ely, as being a Frontier to the rest of the Country : But the King went and sate down before Leicester, and soon took it, which so alarm'd the Parliament, that they instantly dispatch'd Orders to Fairfax to rise from Oxford, and seek out and fight the Kings Army, who (as he writ to his Queen) was then in a more hopeful condition than during the War. Fairfax obeyed

obeyed this Order, and Cromwel being recruited with six hundred Horse of the Association, came to join the Army then marching toward Northampton.

The General had information that the King had Quartered his Foot and Carriages upon Burrough-Hill near Daventry, as if he intended there to expect him, but it was only to tarry till the twelve hundred Horse, sent as a Convoy to the Cattel taken within Leicester and Northampton-shire for relief of Oxford, were returned, designing afterward the reduction of Pomfret-castle in the North, and all the other places lost since Marston-Moor, and if Fairfax followed him, to have fought him with the first advantage, which he could not do so conveniently where the Parliament had their Garrisons. But Cromwel soon disappointed this project, by whose counsel Ireton was dispatch'd with a detachment of Horse to take an account of the posture of the Kings Army, with Order that if they marched Northward, he should skirmish and employ them in the Rear, till the whole Army could arrive and ingage. The day before the Battel the General marched to Gilsborough, five miles from Burrough hills, from whence the Royalists, their Horse being come back from Oxford, were bending their course Northward; and the next Night the King was extreemly surprized to find Ireton give an alarm to his Quarters at Naseby, from whence, about eleven a clock, the King departed, speeding to Harborough, where Prince Rupert and the Van of the Army were, and a Council of War being summoned, it was resolved on, as being the Kings opinion, that to secure his rear, they should march no farther North, but presently give the enemy battel, depending much upon the Valour of the Foot, who were lately animated by the plunder of Leicester.

This advice was followed, though most of the Officers were for staying till the Lord Gorings Forces came

came up, but the King being much stronger in Horse doubted not of success, and the other were as ready to ingage, so that both agreeing in discord, a large Field near Naseby was the place chosen by both parties for the Stage of this woful Tragedy, wherein Fathers fought against Sons, and Brothers gave death to each other, all obligations of kindred and friendship being laid aside, occasioned by that unnatural spirit of division, which Heaven for our crimes had sent amongst us. The King had Intelligence that Fairfax for fear was retreating to Northampton, but found it a mistake, he being then employed in marshalling his Army in Naseby field, and waiting for his coming, Cromwel and Whalley commanding the right Wing, and Ireton the left. The Kings front was composed of a gallant body of Horse, the Foot made a second body, the right wing commanded by Prince Rupert and Maurice, the left wing by Sir Jacob Astley, and the Lord Langley commanded the Northern Brigade of Horse, other ancient Commanders who having been in the Low-countries having their several posts, the King himself being Generalissimo. These being drawn out with the reserves, took up the whole bredth of the field: The Parliaments Foot made a firm body in the midst, commanded by Major General Skippon, secured by the Horse on each side. Prince Rupert charged first with such fury upon Ireton, notwithstanding their valiant resistance, that the left wing which he commanded was utterly routed, and his men put to flight, and driven upon the Kings Foot, of which Ireton was wounded in the Thigh with a Halbert, and kept Prisoner during the fight, and the field cleared on that side, the Prince pursuing them through the Town, and then fell upon the Waggon, where being repulsed, he lost so much time, that Cromwel and Fairfax who had not yet stirr'd from their ground, but with short speeches and ejaculations were encouraging their men, came
up,

up, and Cromwel clapping spurs to his Horse, charged clear through three bodies of Langdales Brigade, and utterly routed them, never ceasing till he had beat the whole Wing of the Kings Army from their ground, without any possibility of rallying; so that having as it were raked the field before him, dividing the Horse from the Foot, they were rendred useles to each other. In this encounter, one of the Kings Commanders knowing Cromwel, advanced briskly before the head of his Troops, to exchange a single bullet with him, and was with the like gallantry encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in till their Pistols being discharged, the Kings Officer with a slaunting back blow of a broad sword, happened to cut the ribbon that tyed Cromwels Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his Head, and now ready to repeat his stroke, Cromwels party came in and rescued him, and one of them alighting threw up his Head-piece into his saddle, which he hastily catching, and a little disturbed at the chance, clapt it the wrong way on his head, and so fought the rest of the day, which proved highly fortunate to his side, though the King managed the fight with much magnanimity and expertness, and exposed himself to several threatning dangers in the field.

The Horse being separated from the Foot, as you heard, fled toward Leicester, Cromwel sent some few Troops in persait to prevent their rallying, and himself in the mean time joyning with his own foot, so incompassed the Kings Infantry, that notwithstanding the courage they had shewed that day, so that their very enemies admired them, yet being tired and hopeles of relief, seeing death on every side, they laid down their Arms, and beg'd for Quarter.

This memorable Battel was fought June 14. 1645. The Parliamentarians word was, God with Us. The Royalists, God and Queen Mary; and the success of it gave an absolute and undoubted Victory to the Parliament,

Parliament, there being almost five thousand Prisoners carried to London, the Kings Standard, and a hundred other colours were taken, with all the Ordnance, and a very rich Booty, a great quantity of Gold and Silver, and all the secret Letters of the King, which were carried to London, and publickly read before a great Assembly of Citizens, where many Members of Parliament were present, and leave was given to as many as pleased, or knew the Kings hand, to refute them if they were counterfeit. But so few were slain in this fight, that a Reader may justly wonder how so many prisoners should be taken, and so much wealth gotten with the loss of so little blood, for on the Kings side scarce four hundred were slain, and on the Parliaments not an hundred, and herein particularly the Kings damage appeared very considerable, that he had lost a brave Army, lately heightened with success by the taking of Leicester, and that there seemed no possibility of raising another, the Victors prosecuting their advantage with so much vigilance and impetuosity, for marching to Leiceester it was soon delivered to them, where Fairfax leaving a Garrison, resolved to hinder the King from recruiting himself, and followed him so close, marching Westward, both in pursuit of him, and to raise the siege of Taunton, which had been a great while blockt up by the Lord Goring, and held out to admiration, but upon the approach of the Parliaments Army, the siege was raised to their great joy, who still persue Goring, and overtake him near Lampert, where they ingage and put them to flight, but Cromwel would not suffer part of the Horse to persue, till being all come up together, he himself led them on with such notable conduct, that most of the foot were made prisoners, and almost all the great Guns taken. From hence he marched to Bridgwater, which though of considerable strength, and defended with much courage, yet

is soon taken by storm, for Sir Tho. Fairfax sits down before it, and after summons, assaults the Town very desperately, gaining the lower part thereof, and then sends a second summons, telling them, ' That ' their denial wrought no other thoughts of compassion in him, but only to Women and Children, who ' might suffer by the Governours obstinacy. Whereupon divers Ladies, Gentlewomen and Children, came out of the Town, and then a second assault was made so effectually, that the Governour capitulated, and surrendred it, there being a thousand Officers and Souldiers prisoners, forty four barrells of Powder, fifteen hundred Arms, forty four pieces of Ordnance, and four hundred weight of Match.

About this time a sort of people armed themselves in the West, and took upon them the Name of Club-men, declaring that they would permit no Armies to Quarter within their bounds, and were so hardy as to make terms with the General, as if by Club-Law they would force him out of their Country, though flusht with Victory, imagining that with their Clubs, they were able to force their Swords from those who had so lately deprived so many gallant men of theirs. But Cromwel doubting the event of such riotous proceedings, having Intelligence of the place of their assembling, marches toward them with a party of Horse, though they were four thousand strong, and Incamped on the top of a Hill, with their Ensigns displayed, and this Motto on them,

' If you offer to plunder, and take our Cattel,

' You may be sure we'll give you Battel.

But Cromwel resolves to venture it, and presently charging up the Hill, he utterly routs and puts them to flight, making four hundred prisoners, whom he carried to Sherburn, Sir Lewes Dives being Governor of the Castle, which was then besieged by Fairfax, and in a short time taken by storm.

Bristol was reckoned a place of Importance, as being

being the greatest and most wealthy City in all the West, wherein Prince Rupert was at that time with near five thousand Horse and Foot, and all necessary provisions. When the Parliaments Army came before it, the General sends a summons to the Prince to deliver the City, which being rejected, Cromwel and some other Chief Officers advised the storming part of it, whereupon the Prince proposed to surrender, ' Upon condition every man should march
' away in the height of honour, with their Arms,
' Colours flying, Trumpets, Drums beating, and as
' much Powder and Match as they could carry about
' them, with Baggage, Horse, Arms, ten pieces of
' Cannon, and fifty Barrels of Powder. Lastly, the
' Lines and Fortifications to be slighted, and the City
' to be no more a Garrison. But these Conditions being thought too favourable, they proceeded to storm so warmly, that the Prince, though he used all possible means to preserve it, was obliged to a surrender, wherein were found one hundred and forty pieces of Cannon mounted, one hundred Barrels of Powder, and Victuals in the Royal Fort for one hundred and fifty men for three hundred and twenty days, the Castle Victualled for near half so long, the Prince had in Garrison two thousand five hundred Foot, one thousand Horse, besides above one thousand of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, so that the gaining this place was of great consequence to the Parliament.

After this, Cromwel marches without delay with a Detachment of four Regiments, to besiege the strong Castle of the Devizes, to the natural Fortifications whereof Sir Charles Lloyd the Governour had made several Ingenious additions, so that judging it almost impregnable, he sent no other return to the summons but, Win it and Wear it. Yet the fortune of Cromwel prevailed against all difficulties, and his Name brought terrour where-ever he came,

to that he quickly forced the Governour to comply, and deliver the place upon terms. Winchester ran the same Fate, after the Governour had been mortified by the battery of some Cannon and Mortars: where Cromwel, who was constantly punctual to Articles, having notice that some of his men had infringed them, he caused one of them to be hanged for example to others, and sent the rest to Oxford, to the Governour Sir Tho. Glemham, that he might inflict what punishment upon them he pleased.

The next Exploit wherein our Heroe was concerned, was the reducing of Basing-house, which seemed to defie all attempts that should be made against it, being the Mansion-house of the Marquess of Winchester, built upon a rising ground, and surrounded with a brick Rampart which was lined with Earth, and all encompassed with a dry Ditch: The Marquess was resolved to defend it, though at first there was none but his own Family, and one hundred Musqueteers from Oxford, but afterward the King supplied him as occasion required. This was not the first time this Garrison had been attackt without success, at first the Collonels, Norton and Harvey, and afterward by Sir William Waller, with seven thousand men, and though some termed him William the Conquerour, yet he received here such rude treatment, as only incouraged the besieged to defend it with the greater vigour, who in several gallant sallies did him very great damage, so that the place seemed Impregnable for some time; but Cromwel having settled all matters at Winchester with the late Governour Sir William Ogle, he marches next day to Basing, and no sooner arrived, but he immediately raises a strong battery that quickly made it capable of being assaulted: Which advantage he instantly perceiving, orders a storm to be made from the several Posts, which though it seemed full of danger, and might have shockt an ordinary courage, yet
Cromwel,

Cromwel, who thought no place Invincible, and that the more danger there was, the more honour would accrue from it, leads on his men with such fury, that the besieged soon found themselves incapable to make any further resistance, and so were forced to yield upon Articles. The gaining of Basing was reckoned a great piece of Service to the Nation, whereby the Road was opened for Trade from London to the West, which had been long obstructed by this Garrison. He goes from hence to Longford-house near Salisbury, but the Governour despaired of preserving that, after Basing had been forced to surrender to Cromwels victorious arms, and therefore upon the first summons delivered it up.

He then marches with the Army, commanded by Fairfax, toward the West, and in December they took Tiverton, and with strange success stormed and took Dartmouth, and afterwards drove the Kings Armies into Cornwall, and at Torrington gave Hopton a great overthrow. In February they entred Cornwall, and obliged Prince Charles to retire from thence and sail to the Isles of Scilly, and soon after Hoptons Forces were Disbanded and sent away, and Pendennis-Castle being surrendred to Coll. Fortescue, the whole County of Cornwall, and the West, were by Fairfax and Cromwel reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament, and nothing remained in the North but the Garrison of Newark, so that the Royalists hopes were very low, only they had some expectations from a party still remaining under Sir Jacob Astley, but Coll. Morgan encountring him near Stow in the holds, utterly Routed him, and took himself and sixteen hundred of his men Prisoners, so that this hope soon vanish'd with the rest; when he was seized, he spake aloud these words, ' You have done your work, and wholly vanquished the Kings party, unless your own dissentions raise them again

After this, Newark, the strongest Garrison in the

North,

North, was close besieged by Leven, Pointe and Rossiter, while Fairfax hastened to besiege Oxford itself, which was the Head Quarters. The King having now no Garrisons left but this, Banbury, Wallingford, Worcester, Ragland, and Pendennis, all which in a short time were also taken, and could only glory in this, That they had held out after Oxford. The besieged Newarkers, though the plague raged in the Town, and they began to want Provisions, yet sustained themselves upon hopes of some differences between the English and Scots, for now the Scots began to complain of want of pay, of the neglect of Church-Government, and the Covenant. The Parliament answered, 'That in two years space they had received above two hundred thousand pounds for pay, besides a vast sum of money which had been extorted from the weeping Inhabitants of the Northern Counties, and that their Army had not answered expectation, lying idle the best time of the year, and if they were so precise in observation of the Covenant, why contrary thereto, had they put Garrisons into Newcastle, Tinmouth and Carlisle? Neither ought they to mention Religion, being unsettled, since the Parliament were consulting about it, being a matter which requires time and mature deliberation.

From these dissensions the King expected some advantage, but yet Oxford was already block'd up by Fleetwood and Ireton, and Fairfax was daily expected to come and turn it into a close siege, therefore before this should happen, the King resolved to go out of the City, and consulting with some of his inward Counsellors, it was concluded he should go to the Scots Camp, then lying before Newark; the King sent Montruel the French Ambassador before, and himself soon after, as Coll. Ashburnhams man (who had a pass from Fairfax to go out of Oxford, about some private business) with a Cloak-bag behind him,

him, escaped unknown, and came to Newark, which when the besieged Newarkers had notice of, being in great streights, they upon conditions surrendred the Town. The Scots seemed amazed at the Kings unexpected coming to them, and so signified the matter to the English Commissioners then on the place. Letters were instantly written to London and Edinburgh, and the Parliament at Westminster required the Scots to detain the King at Southwell near Newark, but contrary to this Order, they carried him to Kelham, where a greater part of their Army lay, and soon after without further Order, removed their Camp Northward, and carried him away to Newcastle with them, excusing their departure by alledging Newark being yielded, no work was left for them, but that as the King came to them of his own accord, unexpected, so he followed their Army, neither being intreated nor forbidden by them; but they seemed to hasten their departure, by reason of a rumour, that Cromwel with all his Horse was marching toward them. This action much offended the English Parliament, and they complain'd both of the Scots and the King.

In the beginning of May, General Fairfax with his whole Army came before Oxford; the City was very strong, having been fortified according to the most exact rules of Art to make it Impregnable, invironed with regular Forts, and provided with a potent Garrison of five thousand valiant Souldiers, having great stores of all manner of provisions, and the Governour Sir Tho. Glemham, a person who had sufficiently demonstrated his courage and conduct, in holding out York and Carlisle to the last extremity. The General disposing his Quarters round about the City, summoned the Governour to surrender, who returned, 'That he would send to know the Kings mind, and then act accordingly. This answer was not satisfactory, yet Fairfax and his

Com-

Commanders doubting it would be a tedious Siege, were put in hopes by some spies, that it could not hold out long, by reason of the divisions between the Nobility and Souldiers, the first being for treating now, and so obtain honourable conditions, which they did accordingly, and the Parliament decreed, ' That the besieged should have the best Conditions, ' rather than waste their Army, which might be ' more useful elsewhere, for they designed to send ' them into Ireland against the Rebels there.

Thus was Oxford surrendred, and the Garrison marched out in sight of Fairfax's Army, with great quiet and modesty on both sides : The D. of York was honourably conducted to London, where two of the Kings Children remained ; thither also went all the Noble-men ; neither were any of the besieged denied to go to London, but the Princes Rupert and Maurice, who being commanded to go out of England, prepared for their departure. Prince Charles about this time, sailed from Scilly with a few of his inward Counsellors to Jersey, in order to go to his Mother in France, which the King having advice of, sent him this short Letter from Newcastle.

' Charles, I write to you only that you should ' know what I am, and that I am in health, not to dis- ' rect you, at this time, in any thing for what I would ' have you do . I have already written to your Mo- ' ther, to whom I would have you obedient in all ' things, except Religion, (about which I know she ' will not trouble you) and go no whether without ' her or my command. Write often to me. God ' bless you.

Your loving Father, C. R.

Soon after the surrender of Oxford followed the end of this fierce War, for Worcester, Wallingford, Pendennis and Ragland, yielded to the Victors. Peace now seemed to be restored to England, but they

B had

had no security, the Parliament being grievously troubled with factions among themselves, and divided under the Names of Presbyterians and Independants, not only in matters of Church-Government, but often in their Votes, and in transacting almost all other business, and this humour spread it self into the City, Country and Camp; and the Parliament doubting Coll. Masseys Forces might mutiny, upon that account sent Fairfax to Disband them; being two thousand five hundred Horse; which was quietly done in eight days time, though they did not then receive their pay.

The Scots, as you have heard, carrying the King into the North, the Parliament Voted, 'That the Person of the King should be disposed of by the Authority of both Houses of the Parliament of England: But the Scots denied to deliver him up, alledging, That he was no less King of England than Scotland, which caused great dissention between the two Nations. But at length, upon paying the Scots two hundred thousand pounds, they agreed to deliver up Berwick, Carlisle and Newcastle, to the Parliament of England, and the Kings Person also to the English Commissioners, to be carried into the South, who was received with great respect and honour by the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, and the other Commissioners, and by them waited on with much observance, and an honourable Guard to his Palace at Holmby in Northampton-shire.

But the Civil Wars being ended, a dissention more than Civil arose among the Conquerors, which still increased under the Names of Presbyterians and Independants, and extreamly imbittered the minds of men against each other, one Party complaining, That the Covenant was broken: The other, That it was not rightly Interpreted by them. And on both sides were men of Reputation; and several Petitions were drawn up against the Army (lately so much admired)

admired) as maintainers of the Independent Party, who then lay about Saffron-Walden in Essex. Yea, it was debated in Parliament, whether they should be Disbanded or not, which Cromwel, who sided with the Independents, having notice of, he thereupon, with Ireton, insinuated into the common Souldiers, That the Parliament intended to Disband them without their Arrears, or else to send them into Ireland to dye of Sicknes or Famine, which caused the Souldiers to use contumelious speeches against the two Houses; and thereupon a Council of Officers was set up, consisting of two Commission-Officers, and two private Souldiers out of every Regiment, to meet and consult for the good of the Army, and to draw up and present all their Grievances to the General, and these were called Adjutators: Who having met, by the Instigation of Cromwel and some others, that made them sensible of their own strength they resolved upon seizing the King at Holmby-House, under pretence of freeing him from that narrow restraint under which he was kept by the Parliaments Order. To effect which, Cornet Joyce is sent thither with five hundred Horse, who took the King out of the Parliaments Commissioners hands, and carried him along with them in the Army. This the General certifies in a Letter to the Parliament, affirming it to be done without his consent, and that the reason alledged by the Actors was, Because certain persons had designed to take away his Majesty, thereby to gather strength to make a new War, which they were able and ready to prove.

When this was known, an Order passed both Houses of Parliament, and was sent to the General;

1. That the King should reside at Richmond.
2. That he should be attended by the same persons he was at Holmby.
3. That Rossifers Regiment should Guard him.

And the Presbyterians who were the greater number in Parliament, being fur-

ther alarm'd by these proceedings, resolved to divide the Army, and send part of it to Ireland, and presently to cashier Cromwel and his Assistants : And they publish a Declaration, forbidding the Souldiers to Petition the Parliament as being under their command : Likewise they had privately resolved to seize upon Cromwel, then in London, who having notice of it, got secretly and hastily out of Town, and with full speed rid to Tripoly-Heath, so that his Horse was all in a foam, and was received with the acclamations of the whole Army, to whom he discovered the intentions and actions of the Parliament ; whereupon they entred into an Ingagement, Not to Disband till the Proposals they had drawn up for regulating all matters were answered, and then marching to New-Market, they subscribed thereto, Cromwel putting his Name first, and the rest of the Officers generally followed, so that several Parchment Rolls were filled with their Names. The next day was brought from the General, and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment of eleven Members of the House of Commons, who were counted the chief of the Presbyterian party, namely, Sir W. Waller, Coll. Massey, Sir John Clothworthy, Sir Denzil Hollis, Coll. Long, Mr. Anthony Nicholas, Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Glyn, Sir John Maynard, Sir William Lewis, and Coll. Edward Harley, charging them with hindring the relief of Ireland, obstructing of Justice, and acting somewhat against the Army and the Laws of England. The Members declared themselves ready to answer, but the Army would have them secluded from their seats in Parliament, till they had brought in their answer ; whereupon they withdrew themselves by consent for six months. After which the Army marched nearer to London, and came to Bedford, the King going to the Earl of Bedfords-House, near Woborn.

And now the Citizens being for the Presbyterian party

party in the House, and the Independents for the Army, great divisions happened in London, for the changing that Parliament having ordered the Militia of the City, which had been established the 4th of May, and put others better affected to the Army in their rooms, the Presbyterian party were extremely incensed thereat, and came two days after to the House with a Petition, accompanied by a multitude of Citizens and Apprentices, who coming to the door of the Commons, cried out, That they must grant their Petition before they rose. Whereupon the House beginning to rise, they took the Speaker, and held him in the Chair, detaining him and the rest of the Members, till they forced another Order from them, 'That the King should come to London. After which they adjourned to July 30. but then both Speakers were absent, having withdrawn themselves to the Army, whereupon two new Speakers were chosen, the Lord Hunsdon, and Mr. Henry Pelham, Barrister, by whom the following Orders were made that day. '1. That the King should come to London. 2. That the Militia of London should have power to raise Forces for defence of the City. '3. They should also have power to choose a General for those Forces; and that the eleven Impeached Members should return to their seats. The Citizens armed with these Orders, presently proceed to raise Forces, choosing Massie their General.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons which had left London, consulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, 'That all Acts and Decrees that had passed on July '26. and since should be accounted null and void, 'and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Council of the Army. It was likewise decreed, 'That the General with his Army should march to London. Upon whose approach the Citizens, who made some semblance of opposition,

meeting in Common-council, and finding it impossible suddenly to raise Forces to oppose them, they sent to the General for a pacification, which by the consent of the Members of Parliament, was granted them on these conditions: ' 1. That they should desert the Parliament now sitting, and the eleven Impeached Members. 2. To recal their late Declaration. 3. To relinquish their present Militia. 4. To deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of London. 5. To Disband all the Forces they had raised. All which, not-daring to deny, were instantly ratified, and so August 6. 1647. the Army marched triumphantly through London to Westminster, with the two Speakers, and the Members of Parliament, whom they restored to their former Seats; and the eleven secluded Members left London, some going beyond Sea, and others with Passes to their Houses in the Country. Both Speakers, in the Name of the whole Parliament, gave thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in England and Wales, and Constable of the Tower of London; a months pay was likewise given to the Army for a gratuity. The next day Fairfax, Cromwel, Skippon, and the other Commanders, marched from Westminster through London to the Tower, where some commands, and the Militia, were altered; and to curb the City, her Militia was divided, Westminster and Southwark having power to command their own Trained Bands. And thus was the Presbyterian party depressed, and all things managed according to the Inclination of the Independents and the Army.

After this Fairfax marched out of London, quartering his Souldiers in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about White-hall and the Mewse to guard the Parliament, his head Quarters being at Putney; and the King about the middle of August, after divers removes, was at length brought

brought to Hampton-court, where he seemed not at all restrained, but lived like a Prince in all the splendor of a Court, all sorts of People being freely admitted to kiss his hands, and wait upon him; yea, his servants from beyond Sea, even those who had been Voted Delinquents, as Ashburnham, Barkley, and the rest, were permitted by the Army to have safe recourse to him, which was generally wondred at. About this time a disturbance arose in the Army by a party called Levellers, some of whom were seized at Ware, and the principal sticklers shot to death, others Imprisoned, and all their favourers cashier'd, twenty being discarded out of one Troop.

And now Propositions were sent to the King at Hampton-court, agreed upon by both Houses, and with the concurrence of the Scotch Commissioners, but the King refused to comply with them; for Loudon and Lanerick, newly come out of Scotland, having privately discoursed with the King, sent Letters to the Parliament, requiring, 'That the King may come to London, and there personally treat with the Parliament about the matters in Controversie: Though not long before they denied it to be just, that before the King had given satisfaction and security to the people he should be admitted to London, or to any personal Treaty with the Parliament, and refused to receive him into Scotland, lest he might raise commotions there, but they alledged in their defence, That the King had been taken from Holmby against his will, and without the consent of Parliament, and still remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom proper for treating of matters of so great concernment. But while the Parliament were framing Propositions, they were suddenly surprized with the news that the King was secretly withdrawn from Hampton-court, Letters coming from Cromwel about midnight to the Speaker: For Nov. 12. whilst the Commissioners of Parlia-

ment, and Collonel Whaley, who commanded the Guard, expected when the King would come out of his Chamber to supper, and wondred at his long stay, at last, about Nine a clock, some going in, missed the King, finding his Cloak, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners to be communicated to the Parliament, wherein having discoursed about captivity, and the sweetness of liberty, he protested before God, ' He did not withdraw to ' disturb the publick peace, but for his safety, against ' which he understood there was a Treasonable Con- ' spiracy, &c. and that if he might be heard with ' freedom, honour and safety, he should instantly ' break through this cloud of retirement, and shew ' himself the Father of his Country.

The Parliament startled at his departure, sent some persons to the Sea-coasts to prevent his going beyond Sea; and when it was reported he was concealed in London, Ordered, ' That if any man should ' closely detain the Kings person, he should be punished with loss of Estate and Life. But this cloud soon dissolved, Letters coming from Coll. Hammond Governour of the Isle of Wight, that the King was come thither, and had delivered himself into his protection, and that he would dispose of him as the Parliament should appoint, who commending Hammond; ordered, That he should guard the King with diligence, and wait on him with respect and honour, and that all necessaries should be sent him.

The K. sent a long Letter from thence to the Parliament, wherein he desired to come to a personal Treaty at London, which was also vehemently pressed by the Scots Commissioners: Whereupon, after a long debate, Nov. 26. they drew up four propositions in the form of Acts, to be signed by the King in the Isle of Wight, and then he should be admitted to a Personal Treaty, which were, ' 1. To pass an ' Act for settling the Militia of the Kingdom. 2. An ' Act

‘ Act for calling in all Declarations, Oaths and Proclamations, against the Parliament and their adherents. 3. For incapacitating those Lords who were made after the Great-Seal was carried to Oxford, from sitting in the House of Peers thereby. A power to be given to the two Houses to adjourn as they shall think fit. The Commissioners of Scotland declared against these Bills, however Dec. 24. they were presented to the King, who understanding the minds of the Scots, and the Factions in London, absolutely refused to sign them. Which denial was sharply debated in the House, and it was affirmed, ‘ That the King by this denial had denied his protection to the people of England, for which only subjection is due to him : And therefore Jan. 17. a Declaration and Votes passed both Houses of Parliament, ‘ That they will make no further Addresses to the King, nor any other to make application to him, without their Order, under penalty of High-Treason : That they will receive no more Messages from him, to both or either Houses of Parliament, or any other person. This was seconded by a Declaration of the General and Officers of the Army, which was presented to the House, and thanks returned them for their Resolutions to adhere to the Parliament in their proceedings concerning the King, and against him or any other that shall partake with him.

The Parliament likewise, by their Declaration, did endeavour to appease the minds of the people, many of whom were extremely discontented with these proceedings, Tumults and Insurrections being daily feared, so that the Parliament, though victorious, and guarded with a conquering Army, no Forces visibly appearing against them, yet were never in more danger, and every man began to foresee Slaughter and War, as Mariners observe a rising Tempest.

- * The threatening Waves in Tracts voluminous
- * Boil up : The Seas by blasts uncertain blown,
- * Betoken many Winds conception.

The Kings party, though conquered, had great hopes of retrieving their Cause, and the same thing seemed to be the wish of many of those called Presbyterians, out of their strong aversion to the Independents; so that the King, though set aside and confined within the Isle of Wight, was more formidable this Summer than in any other, when he was followed by his strongest Armies. The Name of King had now a farther operation, and the pity of the vulgar gave a greater Majesty to his person : Prince Charles also by his absence, and the Name of Banishment, was more desired of them, and by his Commissions, privately sent from his Father, and Commands under his Name, he was able to raise not only Tumults but Wars.

The Parliament for their security Quartered part of the Army about Westminster, the Mewse, and other places of the City, and some Lords and Commons were chosen out of the House, and called A Committee of Safety, and sate at Derby-House, with power to suppress Tumults and Insurrections, and to raise Forces upon occasion ; which were the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick and Manchester, the Lords Say, Wharton and Roberts, and thirteen of the H. of Commons, among whom was Lieutenant-General Cromwel : And it was not long ere they had occasion to make use of their Authority, for upon Sunday, April 9. 1648. some Apprentices and other loose people playing in Moorfields, set upon a Company of the Trained Bands, and with stones beat the Captain out of the Fields, taking away his Colours, with which they marched in the head of a disorderly Rout, increasing continually

usually by the way to Westminster, crying out, They were for King Charles, but by a Troop of Horse out of the Mewse were soon dispersed; yet running back into the City, and others joining them, they remained all Night in a body, to the great terror of the Citizens, so that the Lord Mayor, who was for the Parliament, escaped privately out of his House, and went to the Tower. In the morning, Fairfax sent part of his Army into the City, who drove them into Leaden-Hall, taking some Prisoners, and scattered the rest, so that this Tumult was instantly suppress'd, for which service he had the thanks of the Parliament, and some of the principal Citizens, and a thousand pound gratuity to his Souldiers.

May 26. about three hundred came out of Surry to Westminster, with a Petition to the Parliament, wherein they demand, 'That the King should be presently restored to his former Dignity, and come to Westminster with honour, freedom and safety, to treat personally there about all Controversies: That the Army should presently be Disbanded, and the Free People of England be governed by their known Laws and Statutes. These Petitioners were so earnest for an answer, that they would not stay till the Parliament could debate it, but set upon the Souldiers that guarded the House; of whom, some they hurt, and killed one. Whereupon, some Horse and Foot were sent from the Mewse, who gave them a feeling answer, killing some, and scattering the rest, so that they were utterly vanquished. At the same time the Kentish men were coming with a Petition, and a formidable Army to back it, being enraged at the death of their Companions, who raised a Tumult at Canterbury; to prevent their arrival Gen. Fairfax was sent with seven Regiments to Black-Heath.

In the mean time some small Insurrections happened in Suffolk, at Stamford, and in Cornwall, but were

were soon suppress'd by Coll. Wait, Sir Hardress Waller, and others. Sir Thomas Glemham had seized upon Carlisle, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale upon Berwick, and fortified it, and the Royalists had taken the strong Castle of Pomfret. To manage these Wars in the North, Coll. Lambert was left with some Regiments of Fairfax's Army, but the most formidable danger seemed to be in Wales, where Poyer, Powel and Langhorn, three Parliament Colonels, had raised an Army of eight thousand men, by a Commission from Prince Charles, but Collonel Horton with three thousand engaged them near Petherstone, and totally routed and put to flight their whole Army. A great slaughter was made, and about three thousand Prisoners taken, equal to the number of the Victors; among whom were one hundred and fifty Officers, many Colours, a great quantity of Arms, with all their Cannon, Langhorn and Powel escaped with Poyer into Pembroke-castle. Cromwel himself, about the beginning of May, was sent into Wales with some Regiments, who coming to Chepstow-castle, resolved to besiege it, but hastening to Pembroke, he left Coll. Ewer at Chepstow, who within fifteen days took that Castle, and killed Kemish, to whom the Governour had treacherously surrendred it.

May 20. Cromwel came to Pembroke, of which Collonel Poyer was Commander, who relying on the great strength of the place, refused all conditions, being sensible that time was very precious with the Parliament, who were surrounded with so many difficulties at once; but Cromwel, to whom despair was altogether a stranger, prepared for the Siege, being much furthered in his work from the Sea, by the great Industry of Sir George Ayscough, who continually furnish'd him, by the assistance of a Squadron of Ships, with great Guns and Provisions of all sorts from Bristol. Having taken a full survey of the strength

strength of the Castle, he resolves to batter it with his Cannon, because he had notice their Powder and other provisions would soon be spent, and that the divisions he heard were among them might occasion them to yield, and so save the loss of his men, of whom he was very careful, since so much Work lay upon their hands : In the mean time he strictly guarded the Trenches, to prevent them from coming out, which had the effect he expected ; Hunger, if not breaking through stone Walls, yet occasioning them to deliver up the Town and Castle, the Souldiers upon Quarter, but Langhorn, Poyer, Powel, and some others, upon mercy, which the rest found, but Poyer was shot to death.

While Cromwel was acting these things in Wales, Fairfax with his seven Regiments marched from Black-Heath toward Rochester, and about Gravesend a great number were got together, and among them above twenty Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of the County, with several of the Kings old Commanders, but they durst not ingage Fairfax, though more numerous, some marching to Maidstone, a few to Rochester, others to Dover, to besiege that Castle, but were soon removed by Coll. Rich and Sir Mich. Livesey. About two thousand were got to Maidstone, and resolved to defend it, which they did with such obstinacy, that the valour of Fairfax and his Souldiers were never tryed so much before, nor a Victory got with greater danger; for after they had broke into the Town with much difficulty, they found a War in every Street, and Cannon planted against them, so that they were forced to fight for every corner of it, but at length, with the loss of forty men, it was taken, two hundred of the Royalists being slain, and fourteen hundred made Prisoners, four hundred Horse, and two thousand Arms taken ; and it was remarkable, that at the same time another Army of many thousand Kentish-men, coming

ming from Rochester to aid their Friends, yet when they came near durst not assist them, but stood in fight while Fairfax took the Town. Kent seemed now to be quiet, when the Lord Goring, with the remains of the Kentish-men, being about two thousand, marched as far as Greenwich, sending to see how the Citizens stood affected to the business, but while he staid, expecting an answer, some Troops of the Army came in sight, upon which Goring and all his company fled, the Horsemen pursuing took some Booty, and the Kentish-men generally went home to their own Houses, but the Lord Goring with about five hundred Horse coming to Greenwich, they got Boats, and passed over into Essex, and the Lord Capel with Forces out of Hartford-shire, and Sir Charles Lucas, with a body of Horse, joined him at Chelmsford, with several of the Kings Souldiers, and many Londoners who flock'd to them. The General followed them, crossing the Thames at Gravesend, and at length drove them into Colchester where after near three months Siege, being reduced to that extremity as to live several Weeks upon Horse-flesh; despairing of relief, they at length yielded themselves Prisoners, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, being shot to death.

At this time Cromwel marches Northward, to endeavour to prevent the danger from Scotland, from whence D. Hamilton was marching with a potent Army. Lambert was sent before to suppress Glemham and Langdale, who with their Forces being about three thousand, retired into Cumberland and Westmoreland, expecting to join with the Scots, which they did, and fell upon Lambert at Appleby, forcing him to retire out of the Town, but Cromwel having received all necessary supplies from the Parliament, came and joined him, and observed the motions of D. Hamilton, being both but eight thousand six hundred men, against the Scots and English Army of twenty

twenty one thousand, who were marched into England as far as Preston in Lancashire, where Cromwel resolved to fight them, his forlorn ingaging them first with two hundred Horse and four hundred Foot, and he himself leading up the main body in the best posture the place would admit, being a dirty lane, and inconvenient for Horse, where after four hours dispute, he put them to the rout, whom the Conquerours persued through Preston, and having cleared the Streets, followed them as far as Warrington, about twenty miles, killing many in the chase, and taking Lieutenant-General Baily Prisoner, with the greatest part of the Scots Army, granting them only Quarter for their Lives. Three thousand Scots were slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners, with above one hundred Colours, and all their Baggage. Duke Hamilton finding the service too warm, retreats over the Bridge with a good party of Horse and Foot, but Cromwel order'd his men to fall in among them pell-mell with their Swords drawn, at which desperate courage the Scots being amazed, betook themselves to flight, and the Duke with a body of Horse got to Utoxeter, where he was taken Prisoner by the Lord Grey, and about three thousand Horse with him; Langdale was also taken by a Parliament Captain.

Conspiracies by land, though over the whole Kingdom, seemed not enough, but the Sea likewise revolted from the Parliament; divers of the chief Ships in the Royal Navy, in June 1648. set the Vice-Admiral Rainsborough ashore, declaring they would serve the King and P. Charles, now coming from Holland with twenty sail of Ships, and two thousand men. The Parliaments Vice-Admiral joined with them, and the D. of York, who had made his escape from London, being also aboard. At which the Parliament were much disturbed, and sent to the E. of Warwick to command the remaining Navy, which he readily undertook, but his Brother, though

no souldier, by commission from the Prince, assembles five hundred Horse and Foot about Kingston-Heath, depending on the affections of the Citizens, having with him the D. of Buckingham, his Brother L. Francis Villiers, and the E. of Peterborough, but Sir Michael Livesey, and others, soon dispersed them. The L. Francis Villiers was slain, and the L. Holland flying with the remainder of his Horse to St. Needs, was altogether subdued, Dalbeer, and some other Gentlemen slain, and himself taken Prisoner. At the same time Rossiter obtained a great Victory over one thousand Horse, who were pillaging the Country, out of Pomfret-castle.

About the end of August, Warwick was with a good Fleet in the River of Thames, when P. Charles with a great Navy of twenty stout Men of War came up the River, and commanded him to take down his Flag, and yield Obedience to him as chief Admiral by the Kings Commission. Warwick refused, yet declined fighting in that narrow channel, expecting to be joined by the Portsmouth Fleet, commanded by Sir G. Ayseough, which the Royalists reported was revolted also; but though most of the Mariners were inclined to the Prince, yet Sir George, by his prudent managery, at length confirmed them in their obedience to the Parliament, and sailing by P. Charles in the Night, brought all his Ships safe to the E. of Warwick, who now resolved to ingage the Prince, but finding he was gone back to Holland for want of Provisions, he followed him soon after with the whole Fleet to Goree upon that Coast.

Cromwel, after he had given that great defeat to Hamilton, following his Victory, marches toward Scotland to assist Argile and Levens, against the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick, and to give them an account what was become of Hamilton, but upon his approach, without effecting any thing, they withdraw their Forces back into Scotland, and Cromwel

in his way reduced Berwick and Carlisle into the Parliaments power. Before he entred Scotland, he Rendezvouz'd his Army on the banks of the Tweed, and caused proclamation to be made at the head of every Regiment, That no man, upon pain of death, should take from the Scots either Cattle or Goods without Order. He then marches directly toward Edinburgh, to consult about the affairs of both Kingdoms ; many of the Scots Nobility and Gentry were sent from the Committee of Estates to meet him, who after congratulatory Orations made, conducted him to Edinburgh, where Argyle, Leven, and other Lords, treated him and the rest of the English Commanders, with a magnificent banquet in the Castle. Thanks were given by the Ministers to Cromwel, who was by them stiled, The preserver of Scotland under God ; many of these having denounced the wrath of God against that Army of Hamilton, which by the success they now thought fulfilled. Such also was the Testimony of the Committee of Estates, written to the English Parliament concerning Cromwel. Presently after the Forces of Monroe and Lanerick were disbanded, and all others, except fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, under the command of Leven, for settling the Kingdom. It was also decreed by the Committee of Estates, and Assembly of the Kirk, for preservation of Religion, and brotherly love with the English Nation, ' That no man who ' had joined with Hamilton in the late Invasion of ' England, should be chosen for the new Parliament ' which was then called, or into the Assembly of the ' Kirk, as being enemies to Religion, and both the ' Kingdoms.

A strange and sudden alteration this was, That the English Army, which but a year before were by the Kirk party of Scotland called a bundle of Sectaries, and reviled by all manner of opprobrious names, should now be acknowledged by the same Scots to be
the

the Instruments of God, and Vindicators both of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland. And this great change in the Council of Scotland, had been more to be wondred at, if the change that then happened in the English Parliament were not much more surprizing, for who can imagine that Cromwel, for vanquishing a Scotch Army, by which the Nation was delivered from plunder, and many other mischiefs, should be acknowledged there the preserver of Scotland, and that the same Victory of his against the Scots, should please the Presbyterian Scots for Religion sake, and for Religions sake displease the Presbyterians in England, for the face of the English Parliament was now suddenly changed, and the Votes that had passed the year before of making no more addressees to the King, were annulled and made void; upon which they had published a Declaration of the reason and necessity of their proceedings. New addressees are now made to the King, with more submission than ever was before resolved on; the eleven Impeached Members were restored to their seats, and the Houses debated of treating with the King upon his own security personally at London, with honour, freedom and safety. But this was not carried only a Treaty was Voted to be in the Isle of Wight, and that the K. should chuse the place in that Island. In pursuance whereof, the E. of Middlesex and two of the H. of Commons, were sent to the King, who answered, That he was very ready to treat of peace: Upon which, five Peers and ten Commoners were immediately chosen and sent to Newport. During this Treaty, the King found all kind of respect and observance from the Commissioners, being attended with a Royal Retinue, the D. of Richmond, Marquess of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with a number of other Gentlemen of Quality who waited in his Train, his own two Chaplains, and divers of his Lawyers, to advise him in the Treaty, being likewise allowed him.

While

While these things were Transacting at Westminster, Cromwel having finished matters in Scotland prepares for his return, and Octob. 16. 1648. leaves Edinburgh, being conducted some miles on his way by Argyle, and other Scotch Noblemen, who took their leaves with mutual demonstrations of kindness, and marching toward Carlisle, when he came into Yorkshire, he was desired by the Committee to reduce the Castles of Scarborough and Pomfret in his way; the last of which was defended by Coll. John Maurice with great courage, not by the strength of the place, but the valour of the Defendants: The Garrison consisted of four hundred Foot, and one hundred and thirty Horse, but all daring fellows, who daily performed some notable Exploit by their sallies as one time by seizing Sir Arthur Ingram with a Troop of Horse, and obliging him to pay fifteen hundred pounds to obtain his liberty. Soon after they took Captain Clayton, and most of his Troop, and brought into the Castle two hundred head of Cattle, and many Horses, though Sir Hen. Cholmly at that time beleaguered it to keep them in. One morning before day, forty Horse sallied out, and speeding to Doncaster, where Coll. Rainsborough, who had a Commission to command the Siege in chief, then Quartered, three of them went into the Town, and inquired for Coll. Rainsboroughs Quarters, to which being directed, they went thither pretending to deliver him letters from Lieutenant-General Cromwel; the Collonel little suspecting their business, confidently opens the door to receive the letters, but one of them instantly stabb'd him to the heart, and though his Forces guarded the Town, yet they got back into the Castle at mid-day. To reduce this place, Cromwel having settled the Northern Counties, now comes and orders the siege to be streightned, leaving a strong party under Lambert, who was come from Scotland, to prevent their ranging abroad, and in a while it was surrendred.

Cromwel

Cromwel marches up to London, and takes his place in Parliament, who in his absence had recalled their Vote of Non-addresses, and were treating with the King at Newport, but while this Treaty proceeded, and some months were spent in debates, concessions and denials, another sudden alteration happened, which threw the King from the height of honour to the lowest condition, for some fearing they might be in danger if the King were restored to his Throne, contrived to take him away quite, while others were as earnest for re-advancing him, so that things were brought to no issue before Cromwels return, who had now the thanks of the House given him by the Speaker, for his prudent conduct of affairs in Scotland. At the same time several Petitions were presented to the Parliament, and some to General Fairfax, That whoever had offended against the Common-wealth, no persons excepted, might be brought to speedy Justice, that the same fault may have the same punishment in the person of King or Lord, as in the person of the poorest Commoner: That such as speak or act on the Kings behalf, till he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood, be proceeded against as Traytors, &c.

The first Petition of this kind was presented to the Parliament Sept. 11; the Title was, 'To the most Honourable the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, The humble Petition of many thousands of well-affected men in the Cities of London and Westminster, in the Burrough of Southwark, and the neighbouring Villages Inhabitants. This Petition which broke the Ice, was in a Month followed by several others, from divers Counties in England, and from several Regiments of the Army, as from Oxford, Leicester, from many Commanders in the Army, from Iretons and Ingolsbys Regiment; the design of all being the same, 'That Justice might be done on the chief Authors of so much Blood-
' shed

shed in England, and that those who had been raisers of this second War, and were now in the Parliaments custody, Hamilton, Holland, Capel, Goring, and the rest, might be punish'd, and especially the King himself, &c. These Petitions were daily presented to the Parliament during the Treaty, and by them laid aside; but at last these desires prevailed, especially after the Remonstrance of Fairfax, Cromwel, and the General Council of Officers at St. Albans, of Nov. 11. 1648.

At the same time Cromwel sent Coll. Ewer to the Isle of Wight, to take the King out of the custody of Coll. Hammond at Newport, and to confine him to Hurst Castle till further Order, and this without consent of the Parliament; and thus the Treaty was violently broken off, though the House of Lords Voted, That the Kings Concessions were a sufficient ground of Peace, and the major part of the Commons did the same. But Cromwel and the Army being now come to London, resolve to hinder the same, and discharge the Trained Bands from guarding the Parliament, Collonel Prides and Riches Regiments supplying their rooms, by whom above forty Members of the House of Commons, as they were coming to the House, were seized and made Prisoners. Nay further, they accuse M. G. Brown, and above Ninety Members, for inviting the Scots into England the last Summer, and therefore desired they might be excluded the House, which being done, and the House new modelled, they Voted, 'That no message be received from the King upon pain of High Treason: That Fairfax and the Army take care of the King, and that the Council of War draw up a charge against him, Dec. 13. 1648. The King is brought from Hurst Castle to Windsor; and the Commons declare the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to be void, and that it is Treason
for

for the King to levy War against the Common-wealth but the Lords deny that the King can commit any Treason against the Common-wealth, and reject the Ordinance for his Tryal by a new Tribunal, which they had erected to consist of one hundred and fifty Commissioners, six whercof were of the Lords House, the rest Officers of the Army, and some few Citizens. And the Commons further declare, ' That the people
' under God, are the original of all just Power, and
' that the Commons of England being the Peoples
' Representative, have the supream Authority, and
' what they Enact has the force of a Law, though
' the House of Lords do not consent thereto. Upon
these and several other new Political Principles, they proceed to Try, Judge, Condemn and Execute the King before his own Palace-Gate at White-Hall, Jan. 30. 1648.

But having already published a Book, called, ' The Wars of England, Scotland and Ireland, wherein
' is an exact relation of the Kings Tryal, with the
' Reasons he would have offered against the pretend-
' ed Jurisdiction of their Court of Justice, and his
' last speech at the time of his suffering. I shall refer the Reader to that, and wholly omit it here.

The fatal blow being given, the remainder of the House of Commons and the Army made it evident, that they were not only for cutting off the King, but Kingship it self, and thereupon the House Voted, ' That Kingly Government is unnecessary, bur-
' densome and dangerous, and that whereas several
' pretences might be made to the Crown, that any
' person who should proclaim Charles Stewart, Son of
' the late King, or any other, King of England,
' should suffer as in case of High Treason. And soon after the House of Lords was likewise Voted useless and dangerous, at which the Lords were so highly Incensed, that a Declaration was suddenly published in the Name of all the Peers and Barons of
England,

England, against the proceedings of the Commons, and in defiance of all Votes, Acts and Orders to the contrary, Charles the Second was proclaimed King, in the Name of all the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdom; but they still proceed, assuming new Ensigns of Sovereignty, and cancelling the old, causing all Writs, Commissions, &c. to issue out under a new style and title, that is, The Keepers of the Liberties of England by the Authority of Parliament, causing the old Great Seal to be broken, and a new one made with this Inscription, In the fifth year of freedom, by Gods Blessing restored. And soon after they pulled down the Kings Arms in all places, and his Statue at Guild-Hall, and the Royal Exchange. A Council of State was constituted of forty; and Bradshaw made president, and the Council of Adjutators of the Army, who had been so Instrumental in the late Revolutions, was now dissolved, who soon after petitioned the Lord Fairfax, but those that subscribed it were by a Council of War ordered to ride with their faces to the Horses Tails before their Regiments, with their crimes on their breasts, to have their swords broken over their heads, and to be cashier'd the Army, which much provoked their fellow Souldiers, so that a while after, the Army Rendevouzing at Ware, several Regiments, in persuance of the former Petition (wherein they complain of erecting Illegal Courts of Justice, and trying the Free People of England by Martial Law, with divers other gricvances) wore white colours in their Hats, to distinguish themselves; among whom was Cromwels own Regiment of Horse, who having notice of it, ordered two other Regiments from remote Quarters to be there who knew nothing of the Intrigue, and being all drawn up in Battalia, Cromwel with a frowning countenance rides round, and suddenly commands those two Regiments to surround a Regiment of Foot, and then calls four

men by their Names out of the Body, and with his own hands put them in custody of the Marshal, instantly summoning a Council of War, while their adherents secretly put their white Colours in their pockets, and were astonished at the action : These four were tryed and found guilty, but had the favour to cast lots for their lives, whereby the two principal Mutineers escaped, and the two ignorant fellows were shot to death upon the place in the view of the whole Army. These now had the Name of Levellers given them, and one Lockier was afterward shot to death for promoting a paper, called, The Engagement and Agreement of the People, &c. in St. Pauls Church-yard, and his Funeral was attended by above one thousand of the Lilburnal Faction, all wearing black and Sea-green Ribbons, the Army being now in a violent ferment, and even ready to destroy one another, which humour was cherished by John Lilburn, not without encouragement from the Royal Party, who from their divisions hoped to reap advantage.

In pursuance hereof, Collonel Scoops Regiment of Horse dismissed their Officers at Salisbury, and with Colours flying marched to join Harrisons, Iretons and Skippons Regiments, who by the contrivance of the Agitators, were all engaged in the same designs. This defection seeming of very dangerous consequence, Gen. Fairfax and Cromwel with his own Regiment marched to Alton, and had advice the Mutineers were gone to Abington, after whom Cromwel made such haste, that in one day he marched forty miles, and having met with them, he politickly proposed a Treaty before Harrisons Regiment should join them, wherein all parties should receive satisfaction, and that neither of them should keep at ten miles distance ; upon which the Levellers went to Burford, and being opposed by the Souldiery at New-bridge, to prevent Quarrells they went a little

lower,

lower, not doubting but they should all join upon Treaty, and then put most of their Horses to grass, they being in all above nine hundred, consisting of twelve Troops entire, of the best in the Army, and leaving a guard of about sixty men, some of their companions, who were brought over to Cromwel, giving Intelligence of their posture, Coll. Reynolds, about midnight, rusht into their Quarters, they little expecting such rough treatment, and seizing the Guards, took the greatest part of the rest either asleep or drinking, together with nine hundred Horse, and four hundred Prisoners, whereof Thompson, and two more, only were Executed, Cornet Don declaring such sorrow, that he was repriev'd at the place of Execution, which their fellows beheld from the Leads of the Church, and were told, That every tenth man of them should die, but Cromwel proposed the pardoning of them, which was agreed to, and they sent to their own Houses. This proved the utter suppression of that Faction, and rendred the Army wholly at the devotion of Cromwel.

About this time another illegal High Court of Justice was erected, wherein Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, and Lord Goring, were brought to their Trial, the three first were condemned and beheaded at the Palace-yard in Westminster, and a Proclamation was published, declaring the Kingdom of England to be a free State, and Alderman Reynoldson was commanded to proclaim it in the City, which he refusing, was committed to the Tower, and a new Lord mayor was chosen by a common Hall, who attended with several other Aldermen of the same temper, readily proclaimed the Edicts of this new Republick in several places in the City.

England being thus subjected to the power of the House of Commons and the Army, and Scotland not yet ripe for Invasion, and the Nation full of Soul-

diers, who having for so long a time led a Military life, could hardly be reduced to their former Employments: Our new States-men, to prevent any ill humours that might gather among them, resolved to make them serviceable to their Country in the reduction of Ireland, all that Kingdom, except Dublin and London-derry, being in possession of the Irish, which neither were able to hold out without speedy assistance from England. This Rebellion the most barbarous and bloody that ever happened upon earth, acted by Devils in humane shape, rather than men, butchering two hundred thousand Protestants in eight weeks space, without the least offence or provocation given, or without sparing of age or sex, was perpetrated Oct. 23. 1641. and though contrived so secretly, and acted so furiously, yet was Dublin wonderfully preserved to be a refuge to those poor Protestants who escaped the rage of their bloody persecutors. Many of them fled to England but found little relief, for here all things seemed to forebode the re-acting the same Tragedy, yet in the midst of the differences between the King and Parliament, it was agreed to send some Regiments thither, if possible, to hinder the progress of those Assassines; but this relief was so small that it had no effect, for the King finding the Parliament prevailed against him, recalled those Troops from Ireland many of the Rebels coming along with them to his assistance, so that this Kingdom lay more exposed to these bloody Wolves than ever, and thus they continued for some years.

But this new state having renounced Monarchy and Episcopacy, resolve now to use the same Instruments to recover Ireland, and to that end they ordered an Army to be sent thither. The Marquis of Ormond was made Lord-Lieutenant by the late King, and the Rebels had made a confederacy among themselves, and upon condition to have the free Ex-

ercise of their Religion, and divers other ample privileges and advantages, which the necessity of affairs obliged him to yield to, they joined their Forces to his, being also assisted by a considerable number of others, raised by the Earls of Castlehaven, Clanrickand, and the Lord Inchiquin, so that they were the greatest united strength in that Kingdom; but the confederates having broken their Articles with the Lieutenant, and being ready to besiege Dublin, which he was not able to defend, rather than it should fall into the hands of the Irish Papists, he surrendered it to Collonel Jones for the Parliament, and came over to the King, who was then carried from one place to another by the Army, and from thence he went over to Prince Charles then at Paris. But the Confederates surprized at the great preparations made against them in England, sent Letters to the Prince, humbly intreating him to send back the Marquess of Ormond, with an absolute promise to submit entirely to the Kings Authority, and to obey his Lieutenant. At their request he returned into Ireland about a year before Cromwel came over, and with their united Forces they had reduced the whole Country, except London-derry, commanded by Sir Charles Coot, and Dublin, the principal City, wherein was Collonel Jones with no great strength, and who was very jealous of the fidelity of his own men, that often deserted and went over to the other party.

The Irish confederates, with an Army of twenty two thousand men, lay under the very Walls of Dublin, and sent divers threatening summons into it, requiring a speedy surrender, but they had no effect upon the valiant Governour Jones, who yet not insensible of the great danger he was in, sent many earnest Messages to the Parliament of England to aid him with all speed, with Men and Ammunition, or else all would be quickly lost, and

they knowing the difficulties of his condition, hasten their assistance to him, gave order for sending thither Iretons, Scroops, Hortons, and Lamberts Regiments of Horse, with Hewsons, Deans, Ewers, and Cooks Regiments of Foot, and five Troops of Dragoons, all old tried Souldiers, that feared no Enemy, and lead by victorious commanders, with some other Regiments new listed, to make a number sufficient to effect the business. Nothing was now wanting but a General to command this gallant Army, which the Parliament being sensible of Cromwels conduct and fitness, desired him to accept, which he readily did, declaring at the same time, ' That he did not doubt but God would use him as an Instrument to execute his vengeance upon the bloody Irish; with which answer the Parliament were so pleased, that instantly they give him a commission to be General of all their Forces, and Lord Governour both in the Civil and military affairs of Ireland, and Collonel Jones was made Lieutenant-General of the Horse. After which they march to their Rendevouz at Milford in Wales, and July 10. 1649. Cromwel set forward from London in a Coach and six Horses, attended with many of the House of Commons, Council of State, and principal Officers of the Army, with a Life-Guard of fourscore who had been lately Commanders, very gallantly accoutred. In this state he march'd to Brainford, where these Gentlemen took their leaves, with wishes for his happy success; from thence he rides post to Bristol, to put his men and Train of Artillery into the Transport-ships, and afterwards goes into Wales, having sent Reynolds Regiment of Horse, and Venables, and Monks Regiments of Foot before from Chester, who with a fair wind soon arrived at Dublin, to the great joy of the Inhabitants, being about three thousand in all, who were very careful to recover them from the fatigues

figures of the Sea, in hopes by their means to recover their Liberties.

And in this they found themselves not mistaken, for Collonel Jones, much animated with these recruits, resolved to attack the besiegers with the first opportunity, and accordingly, Aug. 2. when the Irish, with a strong party of Horse and Foot, march'd with much assurance to Baggor-field, a little way Eastward from the City toward the Sea, from whence they designed to run their Trenches towards the works of the City, to prevent the landing any more supplies from England, the besieged found a necessity to prevent them, and with twelve hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot, fell upon the Enemies new Works, and rout their Horse at the first encounter, most of the Foot being also either kill'd or slain, consisting of fifteen hundred, besides their Horse, which so encouraged the English, that they pursued their victory to Rathunines, where the Marquess of Ormond with his whole Army of nineteen thousand men were Incamped, who hearing of it, wished they would come, that he might have some sport with them; he soon had his wish, but the sport was somewhat rude, for in a short time his Army was utterly put to the rout, four thousand being slain upon the spot, and in the pursuit; and two thousand five hundred and seventeen prisoners, most persons of Quality, with the Marquesses own brother, all their Cannon and Ammunition, with a wealthy Camp, became the reward of the conquering Souldiers, who made themselves Gentlemen with the spoils of the vanquished. It is remarkable, that not above twenty of the English were slain in this great action. The Marquess perceiving all was lost, fled with a considerable party to Kilkenny, and from thence to Drogheda, whither Collonel Jones, with some horse, was marched with all speed, in hopes that the news of this defeat

might cause them to surrender, but when he heard that Ormond, with three hundred Horse, was come to reinforce it, he went back, while the Marquess fortifies Dundalk, Trim, and some other places adjacent to Tredagh, hoping to preserve what he had by the strength of his Troops, and to have an Army of Foot ready before Cromwells arrival: But he having Intelligence of this great Victory, being then at Milford-Haven in Wales, he instantly sailed thence with the Van of his Army in thirty two Transport-ships, and Ireton with the main body in forty two more; Hugh Peters with about twenty sail following them, and having a fair wind, they all soon arrived at Dublin, and were received with all signs of joy and satisfaction, and especially the new Lord Governor Cromwel, whom the people crowded to behold, and who observing their zeal and kindness, putting off his Hat, he spake to them to this effect, 'That
 ' as God had brought him thither in safety, so he
 ' doubted not, but by the divine assistance, to re-
 ' store them to all their just Rights, Liberties and
 ' Properties, and that all those whose hearts and af-
 ' fections were real for carrying on the great work,
 ' against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish and
 ' their adherents and confederates, and that were
 ' for propagating the Gospel of Christ, the esta-
 ' blishing of truth and peace, and restoring this
 ' bleeding Nation to its former happiness and tran-
 ' quility, should find favour and protection from the
 ' Parliament of England and himself, and should
 ' likewise receive such endowments and gratuities as
 ' were suitable to their merits. This speech was received with the approbation and acclamations of the people, many of whom declared, That they would live and dye with him.

The Army being all landed and refreshed, Cromwel publishes a Proclamation against swearing, cursing, and drunkenness, under the most severe penalties,

ties, and having settled matters in Dublin, he musters his Army, which then consisted of fifteen thousand Horse and Foot well accoutred, out of whom he made a detachment of about ten thousand, with whom, and a fine Train of Artillery, Ammunition and Provisions, he marches to Drogheda, commanded by Sir Arthur Ashton, formerly Governour of Reading and Oxford, and an expert and valiant Souldier, the Garrison consisting in about three thousand Horse and Foot, most English. After summoning the Town, which was slighted, Cromwel prepares all necessaries to besiege it, Sir G. Ayscough and his Squadron in the mean time blocking it up by Sea, and the white flag was taken down, the red denouncing blood and destruction being display'd in its stead, which yet did not much discourage the besieged, who expected relief from Ormond, and had likewise absolutely determined among themselves to conquer or dye, which they did quickly after; for Cromwel without making Trenches or Ditches, raised a strong battery of Cannon against it, which soon beat down a Church-steeple and a Tower, on the South of the Town, and upon throwing two or three hundred Balls more, the corner Tower between the South-East Wall was levelled, and such a breach made, that three Regiments of Foot entred, it not being large enough for the Horse, but met with such furious opposition from the besieged, that they forced them back faster than they came on, which Cromwel observed from the Battery, he with a fresh supply of Collonel Ewers Foot, enters in Person into the Town, whose presence so encouraged the Souldiers, that nothing was able to stand before them, so that having secured the Town, to revenge their late repulse, they cut off all they met with, yet Ashtons Souldiers desperately opposed them at every corner, and when not able to defend the streets, retreated to the Churches Steeples, and other securities, but the

assailants persued them with utmost rage, and with Gun-powder blew up an hundred of them who were got into St. Peters steeple, only one escaping, who by the fall broke his leg, and had Quarter given him. Others refused to yield upon summons, and were thereupon kept so long from Victuals, that they were forced to surrender; after which most of the Officers, with every tenth Souldier, was put to the Sword, and the rest sent to Barbadoes, Sir Arthur Ashton being slain among the rest. Cromwel by these severe executions designing to terrifie other places from making any opposition, which had such effect, that in a short time he wholly conquered the Kingdom. And thus was this strong Garison reduced and plundered in seven days, which the Irish were three years c're they could take.

Dundalk and Trim expecting no better Quarter, the Souldiers deserted them with such precipitation, that they left all their Cannon behind: In the last, fixed upon their carriages; and the English revolted so fast to the conqueror, that Ormonds Forces increased very little, so that he durst not ingage Cromwel, but endeavoured to hinder them from having provisions. Upon which, the General resolved to march Westward, and assault Wexford, putting a Garrison into Killingkerrick near Dublin, which had been deserted by the Enemy, together with Arkloe-castle one of the seats of the Family of Ormond, and several other small places which surrendered to him; at length he came before Wexford, and summoned it, but the Governor Collonel Synnot politickly treated about terms, till he was re-inforced with five hundred Foot, under the Earl of Castlehaven, and then seem'd to defie any attack: Whereupon Cromwel presently plants a battery against the Castle at the South-east end of the Town, as being of great consequence to the gaining it, and had not plaid long upon it, before the Governour surrenders it, which

which the souldiers having possession, and shewing themselves to the Town, affrighted them from the Walls, which they soon perceiving, in an instant scaled the Walls without much resistance, and entring into the Town, cut off all that were in Arms, till they came to the market-place, where the enemy made a stand, and fought it out to the last, but at length were subdued, and all in Arms put to the Sword.

This Sea-port being taken, which was convenient for supplies, the Victors march to Ross, another Sea Town, considerable for strength and trade, and situated on the River Barrow, where a Ship of seven or eight hundred Tun might ride by the Wall; the Lords of Ormond, Castlehaven and Ards were there in person, having brought fifteen hundred men in Boats to reinforce it, in sight of the English, who could not prevent it: Cromwel summons the Governour M. General Twaff to a rendition, by assuring him, ' That since his coming into Ireland, he ' ever avoided the effusion of Blood, having been ' before no place where he did not first send them ' such Terms as might have preserved them, and ' that upon the same account he required him to ' surrender the Town to the Parliament of England. He received no return, till a Battery of six or seven great Cannon, which played furiously upon the Town, mollified the Governour, so that to prevent the danger other places had incurred, he delivered it up upon condition to march away with bag and baggage to Kilkenny, which fifteen hundred of them did, but six hundred being English, joyned with Cromwel. At which time Bandon-bridge, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and other Garrisons, freely declared for the Parliament, and in the North Sir Charles Coot, and Collonel Venables succeeded as well, and so did L. Broghill, and Collonel Hewson in other parts.

Cromwel having taken Ross, by a Bridge of Boats over the River marched his men to besiege Dungan-
non, a strong Fort commanded by Coll. Wogan, but
having little hope of reducing it quickly, they rise
and march to Kilkenny, where the Marquess of
Ormond and L.Inchiqueen declared they would fight
him, being much stronger than Cromwel, yet upon
his approach retreated without action; whereupon
Enistoege and Carrick were taken without loss of a
man, and the General marches to Waterford (taking
Passage-Fort by the way) hoping to reduce it before
Winter, but it being December, and very wet, the
Souldiers were put into Winter-Quarters till the
Spring. During which, the Irish attempted to re-
gain Passage-Fort, by a party from Waterford, but
Collonel Zankey meeting them, put them to the
rout, killing many, and making three hundred and
fifty Prisoners. At this time Lieutenant General
Jones dyed of a violent Fever at Dungannon, and
though it were Winter, yet Cromwel visited all the
Garrisons in Munster, and received great Recruits
from England, many of his Souldiers and Officers
dying by sickness, and put a new Mayor into Kinsale,
the former being an Irish Papist. The latter end of
February, Cromwel again marches three thousand
of his men out of Youghall to inlarge their Quar-
ters, and takes in Kilkenny-Castle near Lymerick,
with Cloghen-house, and Roghil-castle, and fording
the River Teweir with much danger, comes to Fea-
ther'd, where one Butler was Governour of the
Garrison, and about ten at Night summons the Town
with a Trumpet, which was disregarded at first, but
fearing a storm, it was surrendred upon condition
they should march out with their Arms. From
hence, after being refreshed, they march to Callyne,
about six miles off Kilkenny, which had three Castles
in the Town, and were storm'd and taken one after
another, and all in arms put to the sword, which so
affrighted

affrighted them that defended a house near the ^{Town} that they desired liberty to go to Kilkenny, which was granted. The Souldiers well furnish'd with provisions here, returned to Feathered, taking the Castles of Knoctover and Bullyward by the way, Kiltermon, Arfermon, Cober, and Drundum, places of good strength, soon after running the same fate; (in taking of the last of which, Coll. Zanche was shot through the hand) so that there remained nothing unconquered but Kilkenny, Galloway, Clonmell, Waterford and Lymerick.

These were places of considerable strength, but Cromwel resolves to attack Kilkenny first, and having sent for more Forces, he came to the Town of Govan, which was populous and fortified with a strong Castle, but the Governour refusing to obey his summons, was forced to surrender upon hard Terms, the Souldiers to have their Lives, and the Officers to be at discretion: Hammond the Governour, his Major, and all the other Commission-Officers, were shot to death, and the Popish Chaplain hanged. Cromwel next proceeds to the siege of Kilkenny, which was full of Officers and Souldiers from other places, and the Governour Sir Walter Butler refusing to surrender, the Lord Governour caused the Cannon to play, which had not thrown one hundred shot ere a breach was made, and Collonel Ewers with a thousand Foot, though at first repulsed, gained the Irish Town, and the Suburbs on the other side the River, which caused the Governour to Treat upon Terms, since he could not hope for relief; and the Garrison in Cautnel-castle, whom he had sent to assist him, desired Passes of Cromwel to go beyond Sea, so that the capitulation was quickly finished, and that considerable City of Kilkenny, which had been the seat of the supream Council, was reduced in six days time.

The Marquess of Ormond, and other chief Commanders;

manders, observing the unsuccessfulness of their designs, consulted with the Gentlemen of Westmeath at Baltemore, how to manage their affairs with more advantage for the future, but finding their own inability, some were for an accommodation with the English, but others doubting whether they might obtain pardon or good terms, it was concluded to do the greatest mischief they could to the English in their Quarters, till they had opportunity to escape out of the Country.

Cromwel after this besieges Clonmel, a strong Garrison, wherein were one hundred and twenty Horse, and two thousand Foot: During which, Coll. Reynolds and Hewson besiege Trim, and the Lord Broghill defeats the Bishop of Ross, who with five thousand designed to relieve Clonmel, killing seven hundred, taking twenty Officers, and the Bishop himself, with the Standard of the Church of Munster, and carrying him to a Castle defended by the Bishops Forces, hangs him before the Walls in their sight, which so terrified them that they soon surrendered. These successes encouraged the besiegers of Clonmel, wherein were many gallant souldiers and commanders, and great unanimity; but Cromwel to lose no more time, presently batters it with his Cannon, which opened a breach whereat the souldiers enter, but were repulsed with the utmost fury, so that the success was doubtful for four hours, and a great carnage made, till at length the Irish are forced to quit the place, and betake themselves to flight, whom the victorious souldiers persued with revengeful minds, and made a dreadful slaughter. Thus was this considerable place reduced, though with greater loss than ordinary to the English, wherein they found the stoutest enemy they ever met in Ireland.

Cromwel having thus in ten months time performed more than any Prince before was able to do in

ten years, in subduing an obstinate bloody enemy that despaired of pardon, and therefore fought with the greater animosity; and there now remaining un-reduced only Lymerick, Waterford, and some few other inconsiderable Garrisons, to which service Ireton was appointed, whom the Lord Governour made Lord Deputy. He takes his leave of Ireland, and after a stormy passage lands at Bristol, where he was received with acclamations, and the discharging of the Cannon, and hastens from thence to London, being met at Hounslow by General Fairfax, several members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army, with multitudes of spectators, who came to see him of whom they had heard such great matters; where after mutual salutations and congratulations he proceeds, and is saluted near Hyde-Park with some Field-pieces, and Volleys of small shot, by Collonel Barkssteads Regiment, drawn up in the High-way for that purpose, and after conducted to the Cock-pit near St. James's, prepared for his reception, where he is visited by the Lord mayor and Aldermen of London, and other persons of Quality, all expressing the sense of their obligations. Soon after he took his place in Parliament, and received the thanks of the House from the Speaker, and then gave them a full account of the present condition of Ireland.

At this time Virginia, and the Caribbee Islands, revolt from the Parliament, and cry up the monarchy and Liturgy, who thereupon prohibit all Nations to Trade with them, and in a few months they are wholly subdued by a Fleet sent thither under Sir G. Ayscough. Prince Rupert infests the English Coasts from Scilly, Jersey, Ireland and France, with the States revolted Ships, to the great loss of the merchants, whereupon a Fleet well equipt is set forth against him, who block him up in Kinsale, which Town being taken by Cromwel, they were forced to hasten away, leaving three Ships behind, and sailed to

to Lisbon, where they were protected by the King of Portugal, which caused a difference between that King and the English Republick. About the same time, that is, May 3. 1649 Dr. Dorillaus, who drew up the charge against K. Charles I. being sent as an Envoy to the States of Holland, was treacherously murdered at the Hague by persons in disguise that broke into his Lodgings, and afterward made their escape. And not long after, Mr. Anthony Ascham, the English Agent in Spain, was stab'd in his Inn in his way to Madrid, and the murderers taking sanctuary in a Church, the King of Spain, by all his authority, could not bring them to Justice.

But the greatest danger to this new Commonwealth, though victorious in Ireland, seemed to be from Scotland, for King Charles II. being in the Isle of Jersey, and having notice of the great factions and differences in that Kingdom, between the Covenanters and the Royalists, he gives a commission to the Marquess of Montross (who in the year 1645. was so successful for a time, that the whole Kingdom of Scotland may be said to have been won and lost in one month) by which commission he was to raise Forces in Holland, and other parts, wherewith, if possible, to abate the power of the Covenanters, so that the King might be able to treat with them upon better terms. He accordingly in a short time, sends some Forces into the Isles of Orkney, and a few more under Sir James Montgomery, to the North of Scotland. These the Committee of Estates resolve to oppose, though raised for the Kings service, and send propositions to him to Jersey, which being granted, they would enter into a Treaty to restore him to that Kingdom; the substance whereof were, 'That he would sign the 'solemn league and covenant, and oblige all persons to take it: To confirm all Acts of Parliament 'in the two last Sessions, and to have no Negative

'voice

voice in their Parliament, and would appoint some place about Holland to treat in. The King consented, and promised in the word of a Prince, to perform them, and Breda, a Town in Holland, belonging to the Prince of Orange, was the place appointed, where the Scots Commissioners meet him, and the Treaty in a short time was fully concluded, wherein one Article was, 'That the Marquess of Montross, and his adherents, be prohibited access into that Kingdom. During this Treaty, Montross being commissioned by the King, fearing he should have an express command to desert, and himself be banish'd his Country, landed as you heard at Orkney, and in the North, with some inconsiderable supplies of men and money, against whom the Parliament, then sitting, send an Army of seven thousand Foot, and three Troops of Horse, who utterly defeat his Forces, which were only twelve hundred, of whom two hundred were slain, and all the rest taken except one hundred, who made their escape; and Montross himself, who being three or four days in the open Fields without meat or drink, with only one man, discovered himself to the L. Aston, but the promised reward, or fear of concealing him, caused this Lord to send him to Edinburgh, and he was soon after condemned and hanged upon a Gallows thirty foot from the ground, and a few days after Sir John Urrey, Sir Francis Hay, Collonel Sybald, and Collonel Spotswood, were beheaded for the same cause, the last at his death confessing he was an actor in the death of Dr. Dorislaus. The King was somewhat startled at these proceedings, but the Scots Commissioners desired him not to stumble at these matters, since they were all design'd to promote his Interests; so that finding it could not be redressed, he was forced to conceal his resentments, and the Treaty being finished, the King prepared for his Voyage to Scotland.

The

The Parliament of England having exact Intelligence of all these proceedings, it was debated whether the War which was inevitable between them and the Scots, should be Offensive or Defensive; at length, being sensible what desolations they brought along with them when they came in as Friends, and afterwards as Enemies in Duke Hamiltons Invasion, it was concluded to make Scotland the seat of the War, and accordingly they Order the Army to march Northward, but General Fairfax, as well as some others, being dissatisfied about the obligation of the National Covenant entred into between both Kingdoms, which he conceived would not permit us to make War on Scotland, desired to be excused, and delivered up his Commission, which at first was a little startling, but the Parliament soon found another General, of whose valour and conduct they had large experience, which was Cromwel, who accepted of the charge, and had a Commission to be General of all the Forces that now were, or hereafter should be raised by the Common-wealth of England, and all Commissions formerly granted to Sir Tho. Fairfax were made void.

June 28. 1650. Cromwel with his Army marched toward Scotland, and was received at York by the Lord mayor and Aldermen with great respect: The report of his coming, surprized the Committee of Estates, who sent a Letter to the Parliament, 'That they admired the English should advance toward them, and that many of their Ships were seized contrary to the Act of Pacification, which allowed three months warning, and that the Forces they had raised, were only in their own defence, desiring to know whether those of the English were designed to guard their own borders, or to invade Scotland. The Parliament by their Declaration declare the reasons of their proceeding, and among others, 'That the Scots endeavour to seduce the people

people of the Common-wealth of England from their affection and duty to the Parliament, and to promote the Interest of the late King under pretence of the Covenant, and though they could claim no authority or dominion over us, yet in Scotland they proclaimed Charles Stewart to be King of England and Ireland, and since that promised to assist him against the Common-wealth; and had declared against the English Parliament and Army, ranking them with Malignants and Papists. These with many others, were such intolerable provocations, and no satisfaction being to be had but by the sword, the Parliament resolve to vindicate the Nations honour, and to secure it from the like Insolencies for the future.

The Army likewise publish a Declaration, wherein taking notice of the practices of some in that Kingdom, who endeavour by unjust reproaches and false slanders, to make the Army odious, and render them rather monsters than men, they to clear themselves, desire them to remember what their behaviour was when they were there before, or what wrong or injury was then done either to the Persons, Goods or Houses of any, and therefore they had no reason by false reports to affright the people from their Habitations: Further assuring all persons who were not active against the Parliament, that they should not have the least injury done them, either in Body or Goods, but upon complaint should have present redress, and that they might securely continue in their Habitations.

Copies of these Declarations were given to the Country-people at Berwick-market, and others sent into Scotland, which afterward had good effect. After which Cromwel marches from York to North-Allerton, and thence to New-castle, where he was nobly treated by Sir Arthur Haflerig the Governor, and after imploring the blessing of Heaven, and
having

having provided for future supplies, he posts to Berwick, and July 20, 1650. Rendevouzed his Army upon Hagerstone-moor, four miles from thence, where appeared a gallant body of Horse of five thousand four hundred and fifteen, with valiant Riders to manage them, ten thousand two hundred forty nine Foot, with a Train of Artillery consisting of six hundred and ninety. In all sixteen thousand three hundred forty five. After which, they were Quartered on the banks of the River Tweed.

In England, John Lilburn about this time was tryed at Guild-hall, a man of a restless and invincible spirit, who is charged with publishing Books, wherein the Parliament are termed Tyrants, Traytors, Conquering Usurpers, &c. and though it was generally thought they were of his writing and publishing, yet he made such a subtile defence, that the Jury brought him in not Guilty, and so he was released. Not long after, Collonel Eusebius Andrews being found with a Commission from King Charles II. was condemned by an High Court of Justice, and beheaded at Tower-hill. And one Benson, who was condemned with him, was executed at Tyburn. At the same time an Insurrection happened in Norfolk, an undisciplin'd Company, assembling and roaring about, pretending they designed the abolishing of Popery, the restoring the young King to his Crown, and to revenge his Fathers death, and to suppress Heresie and Schism : But two hundred Horse being sent against them from Lyn, and three Troops from the Army, soon dispersed them, twenty of whom of no eminency were hanged. Sir Henry Hyde being sent Ambassador from K. Charles the Second, to the Grand Seignior at Constantinople, had some contest with Sir Tho. Bendish the Parliaments Ambassador there, whereupon they had a hearing before the Vizier Bassa, and the result was, That Sir Tho. Bendish should dispose of Sir Henry Hyde

Hyde as he thought fit, who presently sent him to Smyrna, and thence to England, where he was condemned, and beheaded before the Royal Exchange in London.

Prince Rupert and his Fleet lying in the Haven of Lisbon, as you have heard, General Blake came before the City with the Parliaments Fleet, and after having destroyed several French Privateers, and some rich Sugar-ships of the King of Portugals, he was forced by storm, and to revictual, to go to some other Port; upon which P. Rupert took the opportunity to sail thence with his Fleet to Malaga, where they burnt and spoiled several Merchant Ships: Whereupon Blake reduced his Fleet to seven stout nimble Sailors, sending the rest home with the Prizes, and with these sailed with all speed after Prince Rupert to Malaga, but they being gone to Alicant, he still followed them, taking in his way a French ship of twenty Guns, with the Roe-buck, a revolted ship; and the Black Prince, another of Prince Ruperts Fleet, to avoid being taken, ran ashore and slew her self up. Next day, four more of the Princes Fleet ran ashore at Cartagena, and were cast away, the rest making their escape, and so Blake returned again to England.

The Scots had now finish'd their Treaty with King Charles the Second, he having promised to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland for three years, provided that himself might have always three Chaplains of his own Election: As also to confirm the Militia in the hands of the Estates for five years, provided it afterward should return to himself. It was now resolved a Message should be sent to invite him to make all possible speed to his Kingdom of Scotland, though it was opposed in the Parliament at Edinburgh, and put to the Vote whether any more addresses should be made to the King, and thirty two were for the Negative, but the Affirmatives being the

the major part, the message was sent accordingly, with a protestation, ' That they would assist him ' with their Lives and Fortunes, to establish him in ' all his Dominions; yet withal, forbore not to advertise him, they had Testimonies to produce of his ' transactings, by Letters with Montros (of which ' they had intercepted three or four) contrary to ' his promise at Breda, however they were willing ' to dispence with him for what was passed, so that ' he would without delay, according to the Articles ' of agreement, come over into Scotland, and comply with the Parliament and the Kirk.

After which they prepared for his reception, but prohibited Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale, and Seaforth, with many other persons of Quality, who had constantly attended him in Jersey and Holland, from returning into Scotland. About the beginning of June, 1650. he left the Hague, and after a tedious storm, and narrowly escaping some English Ships, landed in the North of Scotland, whither some Lords were sent to receive and accompany him to Edinburgh, being entertained by the way with the acclamations of the people. At Dundee, new propositions from the Parliament and Kirk were sent him, which with some seeming reluctancy he signed. The Town of Aberdeen presented him with fifteen hundred pounds, but the Committee of Estates sent to other places that designed the like, enjoining them to bring whatever money and plate they had to bestow, into the Treasury which they would appoint.

While they were in expectation of the Kings arrival, the Committee of Estates and Parliament consulted about forming an Army for his service as they pretended, and an Act was passed for Training every fourth man, capable to bear Arms, throughout the Kingdom, and for raising sixteen thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, the Earl of Leven to be

General

General of the Foot, Holborn major-General, David Leslie Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and Montgomery major-General, the supreme command being reserved for the King; who arriving at Edinburgh, was complemented with many Congratulations, and July 15. proclaimed King at the Cross, and had a strong Guard to attend him and observe his motions.

We left Cromwel and his Army upon the very edge of Scotland, who upon July 22. 1650. drew them forth to a Rendezvous, upon an Hill within Berwick bounds, from whence they had an exact view of the bordering parts of Scotland, where they were to act their parts; to whom the General made a short speech, exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then they need not doubt the blessing of Heaven, and encouragement from himself: Which they received with shouts of approbation. After which he marches into Scotland, quartering in the Field that Night near the Lord Mordingtonshouse, where proclamation was made, That none upon pain of death, should offer any violence to the persons or goods of any in Scotland not in Arms; and no souldier should dare to straggle half a mile from the Army without special license. From hence they marched to Dunbar, where they received some provision from the Ships, sent on purpose to supply them, the people having left their Habitations, and nothing behind them. Thence they came to Haddington, twelve miles from Edenborough, without any opposition or sight of an enemy; next day hearing the Scots would meet them at Gladsmear, they endeavoured to possess the Moor before them, but no considerable party appeared, whereupon M. Gen. Lambert, and Collonel Whaley, with fourteen hundred Horse, were sent as a Van-guard to Mustleborough, to attempt something upon the Scots; and major Hains, commanding the Forlorn, faced them

them in less than a mile of their Trenches. Cromwel with the residue of the Army, drew up before Edinburgh, and some skirmishes happened about possessing King Arthurs Hill, within a mile of the City, which the English gained, and likewise a Church, and other Houses, but the Scots not enduring the shock, that Night the English withdrew and lay close incamped at Muscleborough, being wearied with constant duty and continual rain : The Scots were within four miles of them, intrench'd within a line which flanked from Edinburgh to Leith, and lay so strong, that the English lay still that day in the rain without covert, but were encouraged with hope of a sudden Ingagement. Next day the ground being very wet, and provisions scarce, the English resolve to draw to their Quarters at Muscleborough, which while they were doing, the Scots fell upon their Reer, and put them into some disorder, but some bodics of English Horse coming up, charged and beat them to their very Trenches : Lambert in this encounter was run through the arm with a Lance and had his Horse killed under him, and was wounded in his body, and taken Prisoner, and rescued. The Scots had several kill'd, some of Note, and a Lieutenant Collonel, a Major, and some Captains taken Prisoners. After which, the English marched quietly to Muscleborough that night, but so harraressed with dirt, and watching that they expected the Scots would fall upon them, which accordingly they did for about four next morning, fifteen select Troops of Horse, and others, to the number of fifteen hundred armed with Backs, Brests, Head-pieces, Pistols, Swords and Lances, commanded by Major General Montgomery, and Collonel Stranghan, came on with such resolution, that they beat in the Guards and disordered a Regiment of Horse, but the English being alarm'd, instantly fell upon them with such courage, that they routed, pursued, and did execution.

execution upon them, till within a quarter of a mile of Edenburgh, taking and killing about two hundred, with several Officers of Quality ; Cromwel to discover his generosity, released the principal Prisoners, and sent them to Edenburgh in his own Coach, which did very much rectifie the opinions of many, who by reports were perswaded he was very cruel.

The Army having again spent their provisions, marched for a supply to Dunbar, where the Parliament Ships constantly attended them with all necessities, and then returning toward Edenburgh, they understood the Scots were keeping a solemn Thanksgiving for their deliverance, supposing they were quite gone, and would have come no more, but found themselves much disappointed : Whereupon the General Assembly sent Cromwel, by David Lesley their General, a Declaration of the state of the Quarrel wherein they were to fight, which he desired might be published, ‘ That the General Assembly considering there must be just grounds of
 ‘ stumbling from the Kings Majesties refusing to subscribe the Declaration concerning his former carriage, and resolutions for the future, in reference
 ‘ to the Cause of God, the enemies and friends thereof doth therefore declare, That the Kirk and
 ‘ Kingdom will not own any malignant party, their Quarrel or Interest, but that they will fight upon
 ‘ their former principles, for the cause of God and their Kingdom, and therefore as they disclaim all
 ‘ the sin of the King and his House, so they will not own him nor his Interest, any further than
 ‘ he shall disclaim his and his Fathers opposition to the work of God, and the enemies thereof ; and
 ‘ that they would with convenient speed consider of the papers sent to them from Oliver Cromwel. To whom the English General returned this answer.
 ‘ That the Army continued the same they had proposed
 ‘ fesi

' fect themselves to the honest people of Scot'land,
 ' wishing to them as to their own Souls, it being no
 ' part of their business to hinder them in the wor-
 ' ship of God according to their own Consciences,
 ' as by his Word they ought : And that they should
 ' be ready to perform what obligation lay upon them
 ' by the Covenant, but that under the pretence of
 ' the Covenant mistaken, a King should be taken in
 ' by them, and imposed on the English, and thus
 ' called, The cause of God and of the Kingdom,
 ' and this done for the satisfaction of Gods people
 ' in both Nations, as alledged ; Together with a dis-
 ' owning of malignants, although the head of them
 ' be received, who at this very instant hath a party
 ' fighting in Ireland, and Prince Rupert at Sea upon
 ' a malignant account, the French and Irish Ships
 ' daily making Depredations upon the English
 ' Coasts, and all by vertue of his Commissions, and
 ' therefore the Army cannot believe, that whilst
 ' malignants were fighting and plotting against them
 ' on the one side, and the Scots declaring for him on
 ' the other, it should not be the espousing of a ma-
 ' lignant Interest or Quarrel, but a meer fighting on
 ' former grounds and principles. If the state of
 ' the Quarrel be thus, and you resolve to fight the
 ' Army, you will have opportunity to do that, else
 ' what means our abode here : And our hope is in
 ' the Lord.

Having thus stated the cause of the War in disputa-
 ting with the pen, they next resolve to try the force
 of steel, and fight it out, for the month of August
 was near done, and little action performed, save the
 taking of Collington-house and Red-hall by storm,
 and in it the Laird Hamilton, major Hamilton, and
 sixty Souldiers, sixty Barrels of Powder, one hun-
 dred Arms, great store of meal, malt, Beer, Wine,
 and other rich plunder. The body of the English
 Army removed forthwith from Pencland-hills, till
 they

they came within a mile of the whole Army of the Scots, and both marched in fight of each other, a great Bog between only hindring their Engagement, though the Cannon plaid on both sides. Cromwel drew forth a forlorn to charge them, leading them on in person, and coming near their body, one that knew the General fired at him with a Carbine, but timorously, which Cromwel observing, called out and told him, ' That if he had been one of his Souldiers, he would have cashier'd him for firing at such a distance. This action of his was thought to have more of courage in it than discretion; the Scots unwilling to ingage, returned back to their Quarters. Next day, Aug. 28 the great Guns from the English Camp plaid hard upon the Scots, and greatly annoyed them, all which could not provoke them to fight, but still kept within the protection of their Bog; the English being in some want of provisions, marched to their old Quarters at Pencland-hills, and from thence, with much difficulty, to Musleborough to recruit, and then drew off their Forces, quitted their Garrisons, and marched to Hadington. The Scots attending on their right wing, fell into their Quarters with a resolute party, and were as valiantly repulsed by a Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Fairfax.

Sept. 1. The Scots being advantagiously drawn up at the West-end of the Town, the English drew Eastward into a fair and Champion ground, fit for both Armies to ingage in, but after several hours expectation of the Scots approach, finding they would not follow them, but only watched their advantage, they marched towards Dunbar, the Scots moving apace after them, and at a pass attempted to fall upon the Reer, which the English perceiving, faced about to fight them, whereupon the Scots drew off to the Hills, to endeavour to hinder the English at the pass at Copperspeth, which they ac-

cordingly effected, and then boasted they had the English in Essex's pound, as King Charles the First had that General at great disadvantage in Cornwall, in 1644. this pass being a place where ten stout men may obstruct the passage of forty, thereby to hinder them from any relief from Berwick, or perhaps to keep the English from running away; so confident were they of victory, being lately reinforced with three Regiments, and from the Hills that encompassed this sickly remnant, look'd down on them as their sure prey: And indeed, the English were environed with all manner of apparent dangers, their Forces were lessened, their Bodies weakned with Fluxes, their strength wasted with Watchings, in want of drink, always troubled with wet and cold weather, and much impaired in point of courage, two thousand at least being disabled for present service, were sent to Berwick. On the other side, the Scots were stout and hearty in their own Country, and upon advantagious ground, and double the English in number, they being six thousand Horse, and sixteen thousand Foot, whereas the other were but seven thousand five hundred Foot, and three thousand five hundred Horse.

General Cromwel, and his Council of Officers, finding the Army unfit for further delays, resolved the next morning, Sept. 3. to force a passage through the Scots right wing, or perish in the attempt, and being in Battalia by break of day, they fell unanimously upon the enemy with Horse and Foot, who to hinder the English at a pass, drew up all the Horse upon their right wing, and valiantly received the Onset. The word of the English was, The Lord of Hosts; that of the Scots, The Covenant. The English prest forward vigorously, and resolved to vanquish or dye. After one hours dispute the Scots were wholly routed, the Horse fled and left the Foot exposed to all dangers, who were most of them slain

slain or taken prisoners, the pursuit continuing eight miles from the Field of Battel. Of the Scots were slain about three thousand, and ten thousand taken Prisoners, (many desperately wounded) among whom were ten Collonels, twelve Lieutenant Collonels, nine Majors, forty seven Captains, seventy two Lieutenants, eighty Ensigns, besides Cornets and Quarter-masters, with two hundred Colours, twenty two Cannon, several Field-pieces, and fifteen thousand Arms. Those of Quality taken were the Lord Libberton and his Son, the Lord Cromstown, Sir James Lansdale Lieutenant-General of the Foot, and divers others; and the Purse to the Great Seal of Scotland. The Prisoners were so numerous, that it seemed as troublesome to keep as to take them, so the General discharged near five thousand most sick and wounded, the rest being about the same number, were conveyed to Berwick by four Troops of Collonel Hackers Horse. General Lesley escaped by flight to Edinburgh, by Ten a Clock that morning the fight happened, and carried the news of his own defeat to his Masters, which so daunted them, that Edenborough was presently deserted by its Garrison, and Leith resolved to receive the Conquerors, because they could not keep them out.

Sept. 7. Four Regiments of Foot marched into Leith, where they found thirty seven Guns mounted on Platforms, some Shot and Ammunition, with store of Wealth. The same day Cromwel drew the rest of his Army, both Horse and Foot, into Edinburgh, without any loss, save the Arm of a souldier taken off by a Cannon bullet from the Castle. After which, the Lord General sent a Trumpeter into the Castle, to invite the Ministers to come and preach in their Churches, which they refusing, the English supplied their places. He then caused a protection for Markets, and liberty of Trade in Edinburgh and Leith, to be proclaimed by Drum and

Trumpet, and marched thence with his Army to Linlithgow, leaving Collonel Overton with his Brigade behind, and came within a mile of Sterling, from whence Cromwel sent a Letter to that Garrison, expressing the Armies constant affection and tenderness to the people of Scotland, which though hitherto ineffectual, yet being so far advanced into their Country, desired them to consider of it, and deliver up that place to the Common-wealth of England. The Trumpeter that carried the Letter was met by a Gentleman on Foot, with a pike in his hand, who told him, They would not let him come into the Town, nor receive his Letter. In the Afternoon came a Trumpeter from the Scots, desiring release of Prisoners; to which Cromwel answered, ' That ' they came not thither to make Merchandize of ' men, or to make gain to themselves, but for the ' service and security of the Common-wealth of ' England. The same day a storm was designed upon Sterling, but it not being thought practicable, the Army marched back to Linlithgow, which they fortified and made a Frontier Garrison, being in the heart of the Country, leaving there five Troops of Horse, and six Companies of Foot, and Cromwel with the rest returned to Edinburgh, where the General and Officers kept a Fast. The Kirk party also about this time appointed a solemn Fast, declaring the occasion of it to be, ' 1. To humble ' themselves for their too much confidence in the ' arm of flesh. 2. For the malignity and prophaneess ' of their Army. 3. For the plundrings and wickedness of their Army when they were in England. ' 4. For their not sufficient purging their Army. ' 5. For their Commissioners unlawful and surreptitious manner of prosecuting the Treaty with the ' K. and their crooked ways in bringing him home. ' 6. For their not sufficient purging the Kings House. ' 7. For their just grounds they have that the Kings ' Repentance

‘ Repentance was not found, nor from the
‘ heart.

After this, Cromwel took order for the effectual reducing of the Castle of Edburgh, which the Scots accounted Impregnable by scituation, and having a Garrison of four hundred souldiers, and all manner of Ammunition and Provisions, Collonel William Dundas being Governour : But the General notwithstanding all seeming difficulties, imployed many Scotch and English Miners, who went so near the Works of the Castle, that they carried off one Scots Colours, three hundred Muskets, and other Arms, without any loss, though the Scots sent many great and small shot among them, so that the fortifications of Leith, and the Mining at Edburgh went on prosperously. Octob. 2. The English searched the great Church at Edburgh where they found one great Iron Gun, two hundred new Muskets, sixteen Barrells of powder, sixty five bundles of Bandiliers and Swords, two hundred new Halberts, three hundred new Pikes, and two load of Match.

And now let us consider the calamitous condition of Scotland, that when an Enemy was in the very bowels of their country, there should be so many divisions among themselves, even to the destroying of each other ; for one party in the North was for the King without the Kirk ; these with Middleton keep the Highlands. Another were for the Kirk against the King, whose chiefs were Collonel Ker, Stranghan, and their Adherents in the West. A third party were for King and Kirk, as David Lesley, Holbourn, and those of Fife ; these were then at Sterling, and most considerable, having the authority of the Committee of Estates, and General Assembly, to countenance them. All these had their Swords drawn against each other. Things being in this posture, Cromwel sends a Letter both to the Committee of Estates, and to Ker and Stranghan,

declaring, ' What amicable ways they had hitherto
 ' used to prevent the effusion of Christian Blood,
 ' before and since their coming into Scotland, which
 ' though it succeeded not, yet they should still en-
 ' deavour the same ; assuring them, their arms
 ' were still stretch'd out to imbrace them, when
 ' ever God should incline them to come in, and
 ' that they sought not domination, nor to inflave
 ' them, or depress their Church-Government, nor
 ' sought their Goods or Estates, but to carry on the
 ' Lords Work ; and that if they would still be
 ' blinded, and persist in gain-saying and opposing,
 ' then what further misery beset their Nation by
 ' Famine or Sword, would lye heavy on them.

This Letter was sent by Collonel Whaley, who soon after received an answer from Collonel Ket, wherein they inveigh severely against the proceedings of the Army, and ' That no Cessation or Treaty
 ' was to be made till the English were gone out of
 ' the Kingdom, which they had unjustly Invaded : So that there being no likelihood of an accommodation, Major Brown with a party of Horse, took in a strong place called Dalhouse, and in it fifty Muskets, fifty Pikets, four Barrells of Powder, with store of provisions, supposed to be the Magazine of the Moss Troopers (who kill'd divers English stragling for provisions) some of whom were taken at Darlington Castle, seven miles from Edenburgh. Soon after, Lambert with two thousand Horse, marched toward Dumfreize, Collonel Ker being then about Pebles, and Whaley in his march toward the Enemy, took in Dalkeith Castle with a threatening summons, wherein were store of Arms, Cannon, Powder, Match and Bail, the Wall of it was thirteen foot broad at the top : Lambert having with difficulty passed Hambleton River, the next morning Ker resolved to surprize him, and attempted it with much courage, but the English being timely alarm'd, suddenly

denly surrounded most of the Scots Horse, of whom they killed one hundred, and took one hundred, besides four hundred Horse and Furniture deserted by their Riders, pursuing the rest to Ayre, Ker himself being taken prisoner in the flight, with several other Officers. Collonel Strangham and Captain Griffen, with some others of the Western party, came in to Lambert, who brought them to the Head Quarters at Edinburgh.

Cromwel observing that the Mining of the Castle would be very tedious, he raises a Mount upon a rising ground, whereon to plant a Battery, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of the besieged, and having mounted four Mortar-pieces, and six battering Cannon upon it, he sent one summons more to the Governour, That for preventing further mischiefs, he would surrender the place to him upon proper Conditions. The Governour answered, That he was intrusted by the Committee of Estates of Scotland to keep the Castle, and desired two days time to acquaint them with his condition; but this was denied. Whereupon the Cannon and Mortars began to play, and the Scots hung out a Flag of defiance in contempt of them, but they had not plaid long ere they took it in, so that it was judged some great damage was done by four or five shells that fell among them; and presently put out a white Flag on the top of the Castle, sending forth a Drummer, the Governour desiring once again, That he might have leave to send to the Committee of Estates, which being again refused, two Commissioners of each side concluded a Treaty, whereby it was agreed, ' That the Castle of Edinburgh should be surrendred to his Excellency the Lord General Cromwel, on December 24. 1650. with all the Cannon, Arms, Magazine and Furniture of War thereto belonging: That the Governor with all the Officers and Souldiers, should then march

‘ forth with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums
 ‘ beating, Matches lighted, and Bullet in mouth, to
 ‘ such place as they shall choose; that such Inhabi-
 ‘ tants as have any Goods in the Castle, shall have
 ‘ them restored.

There were taken in this strong Castle five French Cannon, five Dutch half Cannon, two Culverings, two Demi-culverings, two Minions, two Falcons, twenty eight brass Drakes, two Petards, seven thousand Arms, eighty Barrels of Powder, store of Cannon shot, and other provisions proportionable. It was much admired that this strong Hold, the most Impregnable in all Scotland, should be so soon surrendered, considering its situation and advantages being built upon a very high Rock or Precipice, having only one entrance, and that very steep and narrow, so that not above three can go abreast, overlooking and commanding all places about it, inso-much that by the Cannon the English were often galled in their Quarters, though at a considerable distance. It was the common discourse at that time, that it was assaulted with silver Engines, but whether Covetousness, Cowardice or Treachery, were the cause, it was of very great consequence and advantage to Cromwel, and the further proceedings to his Army.

The sharpness of the Winter, in that Northern Climate, was so extream about this time, that the War seemed almost at a stand, and the Scots were employed in Crowning the King, who had been some time before at St. Johnstons, where he received the news of the loss of the Scots at Dunbar, and of the death of his Sister the Princess Elizabeth, who died about the same time at Carisbrook-castle in the Isle of Wight. The Town of Scoon was appointed for his Coronation, where one hundred and fifty Kings of that Nation had been Crowned before; thither therefore, Jan. 1. 1651. the King with the Nobility,

bility, Barons and Burgeſſes, in their Robes removed, the whole Scotch Army ſtanding all the way as a Guard from St. Johnſtons thither, having heard the Sermon preached by Mr. Robert Dowglas, ſitting upon a Scaffold erected in the Church, he took the ordinary Coronation Oath, and ſubſcribed the National Covenant, and likewiſe the ſolemn League and Covenant : After which he aſcended upon a Stage a little higher, and ſate down on the Throne, when the people being demanded four times by the King at Arms, ‘ Whether they were willing to accept of ‘ King Charles for their King, and become ſubject to his Commandments : They expreſs’d their conſent with loud acclamations, God ſave King Charles the Second. Then the Crown was ſet upon his head by the Marqueſs of Argyle, and the Nobility touching it with their right hands, ſwore Allegiance to him in theſe words, ‘ By the eternal and almighty God, ‘ who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall ſupport ‘ thee to the uttermoſt. The people alſo holding up their hands, ſwore obedience according to the uſual Oath. Then the King and Nobility departed in the ſame pomp as they entred, and after a ſtately Dinner return’d to St. Johnſtons.

This being over, the Scots conſulted how to raiſe ſuch an Army as might drive the Engliſh out of Scotland ; to which purpoſe, after they had Excommunicated Collonel Stranghan, Sineton, and others, who came into the Engliſh, they gave out Commiſſions for raiſing more Forces, and many new commanders were made, Middleton being Lieutenant General of the Horſe. Soon after which, David Leſley their Lieutenant General, with a party of eight hundred Horſe, made an attempt upon Lithgow, where was Collonel Sanderſon with a Regiment of Horſe, who received them ſo warmly, that the Scots retreated without entering the Town. Cromwel about this time being willing to gain all thoſe Garrifons on

the South-side of the Frith, he ordered Collonel Fenwick, with two Regiments of Horse and Foot, to endeavour to reduce Hume Castle, who coming before it, sent in this summons to Cockburne the Governor :

‘ Sir, His excellency the Lord General Cromwel,
 ‘ hath commanded me to reduce this Castle you
 ‘ now possess under his Obedience, which if you
 ‘ now deliver into his hands, you shall have fit
 ‘ terms for your self and those with you, and ease
 ‘ the adjacent parts of a great charge ; if you refuse,
 ‘ I doubt not in a short time, by the Lords assistance,
 ‘ to obtain what now I demand. I expect your an-
 ‘ swer by seven of the Clock to morrow morning.

To the Governor of
 Hume Castle

Your Servant
 George Fenwick.

To whom the Governor returns the following
 conceited Answer :

‘ Right Honourable, I have received a Trumpeter
 ‘ of yours, as he tells me, without the pass, to ren-
 ‘ der Hume-castle to the Lord General Cromwel,
 ‘ please you I never saw your General, nor know
 ‘ your General ; as for Hume-castle it stands upon
 ‘ a Rock. Given at Hume-castle this day, before
 ‘ seven a Clock. So resteth without prejudice to
 ‘ my Native Country,

For the Governor
 of Berwick.

Your most humble Servant,
 Thomas Cockburne.

After which, to shew his confidence in the strength
 of the place, he sent Collonel Fenwick the follow-
 ing Verses :

- ‘ I William of the Wastle,
- ‘ Am now in my Castle,
- ‘ And awe the Dogs in the Town,
- ‘ Shan’t gar me gang down.

But notwithstanding this resolute and quibbling answer, when the English with their Culverin and Mortar-piece had made a small breach, the besieged beat a parley, and having formerly refused the conditions offered, were compelled now to surrender upon mercy, and the Governour and Garrison consisting in seventy eight Officers and Souldiers, gang’d out of the Castle. After which Colloanel Monk with three Regiments of Horse and Foot, laid Siege to Timplallon-castle, which had much molested the Country with their excursions, against which they plaid their Mortar-pieces forty eight hours together without success : They then batter’d the Castle with six large Cannon, which did such notable execution that the Scots desired a Truce, and terms to march away, but none would be granted, save to have their lives saved, which was at last accepted, and the Castle yielded, with all the Guns, Arms, Ammunition and Provision therein ; the taking this Castle was of great concern to the English, the passage from Edinburgh to Berwick being now almost clear. But notwithstanding all the care that was used, the English were daily surprized and killed in small stragling parties, which occasioned General Cromwel to publish the following Proclamation :

- ‘ Finding that divers under my command are not
- ‘ only daily spoil’d and robb’d, but also sometimes
- ‘ barbarously and inhumanely slain, by a sort of
- ‘ Outlaws and Robbers, not under the discipline of
- ‘ any Army ; and finding that all our tenderness to
- ‘ the Country produceth no better effect than their
- ‘ compliance

' compliance with, and protection of such persons,
 ' and considering that it is in the power of the coun-
 ' try to detect and discourage them, many of them
 ' being Inhabitants of those places where commonly
 ' the Outrage is committed, and perceiving that their
 ' motion is ordinarily by the invitation, and accord-
 ' ing to the intelligence given them by country-men,
 ' I do therefore declare, That wheresoever any under
 ' my command, shall be hereafter robbed or spoiled
 ' by such parties, I will require life for life, and a
 ' plenary satisfaction for their goods, of those Par-
 ' ishes and places where the Fact shall be commit-
 ' ted, unless they discover and produce the Offen-
 ' dor : And this I wish all persons to take notice of
 ' that none may plead Ignorance. Given under my
 ' hand at Edinburgh, Nov. 5. 1650.

O. Cromwel.

In pursuance hereof several sums of money were
 levied upon such Parishes where any Robberies and
 Murthers were committed, and all abettors and as-
 sistors were condemned and executed. General
 Cromwel with his Army, after this, marched from
 Edinburgh, and often attempted to pass over into
 Fife, but the season and difficult passage not permit-
 ting it they retire to their Winter Quarters, and re-
 ceived all manner of provisions from the English
 Fleet newly arrived at Leith, which was a great in-
 couragement to the Souldiers in the midst of the
 hardships and diseases to which they were exposed,
 and of which the General had a great share by ma-
 ny violent fits of the contagious distemper of that
 Country, which brought him to the very brink of
 the Grave, so that it was reported he was dead, to
 the great joy of the Scots, who were so pleased
 with the news, that they would hardly suffer them-
 selves to be better informed : for a Scotch Trumpe-
 ter

ter coming out of Fife to Edinburgh to treat about restoring a Ship which the English had taken near Burnt-Island; after he had delivered his message, he confidently told the Souldiers their General was dead, and that they did well in concealing it, but he would never believe otherwise, nor could he be convinced, till the General ordered him to be brought into his presence, who was now somewhat recovered, so that upon his return this false rumour vanished. But the Parliament of England hearing that he had a relapse afterward, and a violent Ague, they sent him two eminent Physicians, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, to use their utmost Art for his recovery, with an Order that gave him liberty to repair into England for recovering his health: To which he made a return of Thanks by a Letter to the Lord President, in which among others, are these unusual expressions: 'My Lord, my sickness was indeed so violent, that my Nature was not able to bear the weight thereof, but the Lord was pleased to deliver me beyond expectations, and to give me cause to say once more, He hath plucked me out of the Grave. So that now, by the goodness of God, I find my self growing to such a state of health and strength, as may yet, if it be his good will, render me useful, according to my poor ability, in the station wherein he hath set me. I wish more steadiness in your affairs here, than to depend in the least upon so frail a thing as I am; indeed they do not, nor do they own any Instrument; this Cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh, that all that have any hand therein being so persuaded, would gird up the loins of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord. So prays, my Lord,

Edinburgh,
June 3.

Your most humble Servant,
O. Cromwel.
At

At this time Ambassadors came to the Parliament of England, from Spain, Portugal and Holland ; the first was reminded of delaying execution on the Assassins of the English Resident at Madrid : The second not having full power to give satisfaction for the expences of the state and loss of the Merchants Goods, by means of that King, was quickly dismiss'd. The Hollander kept at a distance, rather wishing prosperity to the Royal party, than heartily desiring peace with the Commonwealth of England : Soon after, Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland were sent Ambassadors Extraordinary to the States, and were received with great splendor, and having audience of the States-General at the Hague, the Lord Ambassador St. John made a learned and elegant speech, declaring, ' That they were
 ' sent over to the High and Mighty States of the Ne-
 ' therlands, from the Parliament of the Common-
 ' wealth of England, to make a firm League and
 ' Confederacy between the two Republicks, if they
 ' think fit, notwithstanding the many injuries the
 ' English have received from the Dutch Nation.
 ' Likewise to renew and confirm the former Treaties
 ' and Agreements of Trade and Commerce, made
 ' between the two Nations, wherein he shewed
 ' them the notable advantages of England, in re-
 ' spect of its commodious scituation for advance-
 ' ment of Trade, and all other benefits. Lastly,
 ' That he was commanded to let them know how
 ' highly the Parliament resented the murder of
 ' Dr. Dorislaus their Agent, not doubting but they
 ' would do their utmost to discover the Authors
 ' thereof. After which the Ambassadors Gentle-
 men receiving several affronts from the Royal party
 there, the States published a Proclamation to pre-
 vent it ; yet these abuses continued, and no punish-
 ment being inflicted on any, though the common
 people often swarm'd about the Ambassadors Gates,
 and

and assaulted their servants; and the States evading any Treaty till they saw how matters would succeed in Scotland, the Parliament highly resenting these proceedings, suddenly recalled their Ambassadors, to the great surprize of the States: Who thereupon endeavoured, by frequent visits to them, to insinuate their amicable Intentions, but the Ambassadors returned to England. And that which gave some jealousy to the Parliament of their designs, was because Admiral Van Trump, with a Fleet of Ships, lay hovering upon the Coasts of Scilly, as though he would attempt something against it, and the occasion of it being demanded of the States, they replied, ' They had no other intent but to demand the restitution of such Ships and Goods as the Pirates thereof had taken from their people. With which answer the Parliament were somewhat satisfied yet to prevent the worst, April 18. 1651. Sir George Ayscough, with a Squadron of Ships, designed for reducing the Caribbee-Islands, was sent thither, and landed three hundred Seamen besides souldiers, and soon became Masters of the Islands Tresco and Brilers, taking therein one hundred and fifty Prisoners, and killing twenty. They took also two Frigates of thirty two and eighteen Guns, and secured the best Harbour belonging to those Islands. Hence the Enemy fled to St. Maries, their chief strength, which yet was soon surrendered. Cornet-castle, in the Isle of Guernsey, was at this time attempted, but through mis-information of the weakness of the place, the design miscarried, with the loss of many Officers and Souldiers. About this time Brown Bushel, a very earnest stickler for the Royal party, both by Sea and Land, and who when in the service of the Parliament had delivered up Scarborough to the King, was taken and beheaded at Tower-hill.

The Parliament of Scotland having adjourned during the Coronation of the King, met again in March
and

and some differences arose about restoring several Lords of the Royal party to their seats in the House, which yet the Assembly would not admit of, till they had passed the stool of Repentance, which Duke Hamilton did with some kind of splendor, having a Table placed before him with a black Velter cover, and a Cushion of the same, and making a great Feast that day. The King having now got some power, endeavoured to regain reputation among his Subjects, by putting all the Garrisons of Fife into a posture of defence against the landing of the English, drawing what Forces he could spare, both Horse and Foot, from Sterling, and joining them with the new Leavies, which for better security he Quartered on the Water-side, and then goes to the Highlands to compose all differences there, and to incite them to rise and join with him; from whence Middleton soon after brought a considerable body of Horse and Foot, and the Town of Dundee raised a Regiment of Horse at their own charge, and sent them with a stately Tent, and six fine brass Cannon, for a present to the King then at Sterling, whose Army now consisted in six thousand Horse, and fifteen thousand Foot, but the Earl of Eglington being sent to the West, with some other Commanders, to raise more Forces, coming to Dunbarton, Collonel Lilburn, upon notice, sent a party of Horse, who suddenly seized the Earl, his Son Collonel James Montgomery, Lieutenant Collonel Colborn, and some others, whom they carried Prisoners to Edinburgh.

At the same time a design was discovered, the English Covenanters intending a general rising in Lancashire to join with the Scots, the chief Agent herein being Thomas Cook of Grays-Inn, Esq; who was taken and committed. After this, a Ship bound from the North of Scotland to the Isle of Man, being by Tempest driven into Ayre, was searcht, and
many

many papers seized that gave light into the business. And a party of Horse and Dragoons marching to Grenoch, seized Mr. Birkenhead, another Agent for the Royal designs, about whom they found such Letters, Commissions and Instructions, as the whole Intrigue was discovered ; upon which Major General Harrison was sent with a Detachment of Horse and Foot to Carlisle, to prevent Insurrections, or oppose the Inroads of the Scots. At London several were taken up, viz. Mr. Christopher Love, Major Alford, Major Adams, Collonel Barton, Mr. Blackmore, Mr. Case, Mr. Cawton, Dr. Drake, Mr. Drake, Captain Farr, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Haviland, Major Huntington, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Jequel, Mr. Jackson, Lieutenant Collonel Jackson, Captain Mussey, Mr. Walton, Captain Potter, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Sterks, Collonel Sowton, Collonel Vaughan, and others ; of all whom, only Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons suffered being both beheaded on Tower-hill, Aug. 22. 1651. The rest (among whom were seven or eight Ministers of London) upon their humble petitions and acknowledgments, were released and pardoned. There happened about this time an Insurrection of two or three hundred in Wales, who declared for King Charles, upon a report that the English Army, under Cromwel, was defeated in Scotland, but they were soon suppressed.

Collonel Monk was now sent by Cromwel to set down before Blackness, which had sheltered some that had much annoyed their Quarters : After the Batteries were made, and some shot spent, they required Quarter, which was given, and the place surrendered. Yet the Scots grew very formidable, and made many Invals upon the out Quarters and Garrisons of the English with much success, by having the advantage of knowing the Country, so that several were slain ; whereupon Orders were given for contracting their Quarters, by slighting the remote

mote Garrisons, and the Army was put into a marching posture for Fife, Blackness being made their Magazine; Captain Butler at the same time arriving in the Success Frigate at Leigh, with eighty thousand pounds for paying the Souldiers, which being distributed among them, infused fresh courage into their hearts.

June 24. The Army being ready for a Campaign, General Cromwel ordered them to march to Red-hall, and thence to Pencland-hills, where they Incamp'd, and the General in his Tent treated the Lady Lambert, General Deans, and other English Ladies and Gentlewomen, who came from Leith to view the Camp, and then returned again. The Army hearing the Scots were at Falkirk, marched to Lithgow, from whence they might see the Tents of the Scotch Army at Torwood, four miles on this side Sterling, and hoped to come to a Battel; but the King having drawn his foot into Torwood, fortified his Camp, which with the River and Bogs, prevented any assault, though Cromwel marched in sight of them, and stood from twelve to eight at Night, expecting the Scots approach; but they only plaid on the English with their Cannon at a distance, so that the Army drew off to Glasgow, and from thence to Hamilton, but not being able to ingage them, he attack'd Kalender-house, where part of their Forces were, which denying to yield upon summons, the Souldiers with Faggots passed over the Mote, and in half an hour possess'd the house, putting the Governour and sixty two soldiers to the sword, and this in sight of the whole Scotch Army, who did not once stir to relieve their friends.

Cromwel finding the Scots would protract the War, resolves once more to attempt the taking of Fife, whereby to prevent them from having any further supplies: Whereupon there were drawn out sixteen hundred foot, and four Troops of Horse, who

who under the command of Collonel Overton were designed for this service, and being imbarcked in the twenty seven flat bottom'd boats sent from England for this purpose, early in the morning they attempted to land at Queens-ferry, which with the loss of six men was effected, and presently fell to intrench themselves. While this was doing, Cromwel with his Army, marched up close to the Scots, that if they had gone toward Fife, he might have ingaged them before they could have reached Sterling. The Scots receiving the alarm the same day, sent four thousand Horse and Foot under Sir John Brown, to force the English out of Fife ; upon which, Cromwel sent Lambert with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, to reinforce the other party, who in twenty four hours were ferried over and joined. Whereupon Collonel Okey with his Regiment fell in among the Scots, whereby they were forced to draw up in Battalia, and so did the English, who were superiour in number, but had the disadvantage of ground. In this posture they continued facing each other about an hour and half, when the English resolved to attack the Scots, by ascending an Hill, and thereupon Lamberts right wing falling furiously upon the Scots left, they endured the shock with much resolution, after a while the whole body ingaging, in a very short time the Scots were utterly routed, two thousand being slain, and fourteen hundred taken prisoners, with their Commander Sir John Brown, Collonel Buchan, and many others of Quality. Of the English, few were killed, but many wounded. After which, other Detachments were sent over to Fife, so as to inable them upon occasion to ingage the whole Scots Army. Immediately after the strong Castle of Innesgarrèy, scituate on a Rock, in the midst of the Fryth, between Queens-ferry and North-ferry, was surrendered to the English, the Garrison being so terrified,

fied, that they were content to march out only with their swords by their sides, to shew what profession they were of, leaving behind all their Ammunition and Provisions, with sixteen pieces of Cannon.

July 27. The whole English Army appeared before Burnt-Island, and the General sent a summons for the rendition thereof; to which the Governour returned a modest answer, and the next day desired a parley: Commissions on both sides were chosen, and after some debates it was agreed, That all the Provisions, Guns, and Shipping of War, should be delivered to the English, &c. and all the Officers and Souldiers to march out with Drums beating, &c. Thence they marched instantly to St. Johnstons, a place of great strength and importance, into which the King had lately put a Regiment of foot, and therefore they made some difficulty at first to surrender, but finding that Cromwel had ordered the draining of the Moat round about the Town, the courage of the Scots failed them so, that they soon delivered it up.

The King finding his affairs in Scotland grow very desperate, he muster'd his Forces, and finding them to be about sixteen thousand Horse and Foot, with these, and hopes of further supplies from his friends he resolves to return for England it self, and accordingly the Scotch Army began their march from Sterling, July 30. 1651. and the sixth day after entred England by the way of Carlisle; which news coming to London, very much startled the Parliament, and Cromwel was a little surprized thereat, who by staying to reduce St. Johnstons had suffered the Kings Army to get three days march before him, which he excuses in a Letter to the Parliament, and shews, That the Army acted to the best of their Judgments. Cromwel presently orders Lambert to march in the Reer of the Scots, with a party of three thousand Horse and Dragoons; Harrison was likewise

commanded

commanded to attack them, if possible, in the Van, and the General himself followed with about sixteen Regiments of Horse and Foot, leaving the prosecution of the War in Scotland to Lieutenant General Monk, with seven thousand Horse and Foot, who presently took in the Town and Castle of Sterling, with Aberdeen, Abernethy, Dundee, Dimotter-castle, Dunbarton-castle, and several others, so that all Scotland was subdued to the Republick of England.

The King marched forward with his Army, being proclaimed in all Towns as he went along, and published a Declaration, with a promise of pardon to all persons, for all crimes, except Cromwel, Bradshaw, and Cook. A copy of the same Declaration was sent by the King, in a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, but was by Order of Parliament burnt by the hangman at the Royal Exchange. And a day or two after at a Muster of the City Trained Bands at Bunhil-fields, consisting of fourteen thousand men, Lenthall, the Speaker of the House, came thither, and caused a fellow with a Link to burn a copy of the Declaration at the head of every Regiment. On the other side, the Parliament passed an Act to make it High-Treason to correspond with or assist Charles Stewart, with any relief whatsoever. At length, after many halts and skirmishes, long and tedious marches, of three hundred miles in three Weeks, the Scots entred into Worcester, Aug. 23. 1651. from whence the King sent his Letters Mandatory to Sir Tho. Middleton and Coll. Mackworth, Governours of Shrewsbury, to raise Forces for him, but without success. In the meantime, the Parliament raised the Militia of the Counties, and Cromwel and the rest of their Army coming up together, they surrounded them on every side with their numerous Host, it being never known before in England, that so great Forces should be assembled

affembled in so short a time, which in the whole were judged to be above fifty thousand, and the Scots in Worcester no more than thirteen thousand. The Earl of Derby, about this time, being landed, as was expected, at Wyewater in Lancashire, with about three hundred Gentlemen and others, endeavoured to raise the Country, while the English were busied at Worcester, and in a little time they increased to fifteen hundred. Collonel Lilburn was sent thither to observe his motions, and Cromwells Regiment of Foot being at Manchester, was appointed to join him at Preston. To prevent which, the Earl marched toward Manchester, whereupon Lilburn endeavoured to flank them in their march, so to join the Foot; which the Earl perceiving, prest to ingage, and Lilburn being over-match'd in Foot, the dispute proved tedious and difficult, yet in an hour the Earl was totally routed, and many persons of Quality taken, and five hundred common souldiers, with all their baggage, arms and ammunition, the Earl of Derby's George, Garter, and other Robes with the badges of the Order, but he himself escaped, and recovered Worcester. There were slain the Lord Widdrington, Sir Tho. Tildesley, Collonel Matthew Boynton, and other inferior Officers, with about sixty private Souldiers. Of the Parliaments party, ten were slain, but many wounded.

Cromwel having disposed the whole Army round about Worcester, in order to a Siege, the first remarkable attempt was possessing a pass upon the Severne, at a place called Upton, which was done by a party led by Lambert and Fleetwood, who marched toward the River Teame, over which was made a bridge of boats, and another over Severn, on the Generals side, upon which the Kings party took the alarm, and drew out Horse and Foot to oppose the Lieutenant Generals passage, to whose relief

Collone

Collonel Ingolsbys, and Fairfax's Regiment of Foot, the Generals Life-Guard, and Hackers Regiment of Horse, were all led on by Cromwel himself: Then Collonel Goffe and Deans Regiments fell to scowring the Hedges which the Kings party had lined, and beat them from Hedge to Hedge, so that being seconded by a fresh supply, they were forced to retreat to Powick-bridge, where three Regiments of Scots more maintained another hot dispute, but at length all retired into Worcester, except some that were taken. After which, the Royalists renewing their courage, drew out what Horse and Foot they could on Cromwels side, the King leading them on they imagining most of his Army had been on the other side, so that by this bold and resolute salley, Cromwels men were forced a little to retire, but after a fight of four hours, wherein the King had his Horse twice shot under him, the Works and Fort-Royal were taken, and their Cannon turned upon themselves, and the English entred the Town; upon which, many of the foot threw down their Arms, which the King perceiving, rode up and down among them, sometimes with his Hat in his hand, intreating them to stand to their Arms, adding, 'I had rather you would shoot me than keep me alive to see the sad consequences of this fatal day. But all proving ineffectual, the Earl of Cleveland, and some others, rallying some Forces, put a small check to the Victors, whereby the King had the opportunity to make his escape out of the Town, which he did about seven a clock at Night in the dark, with sixty Horse, out of St. Martins-gate.

The whole Army now entring the City, the soldiers furiously fly through all the streets, doing such execution, that nothing could be seen for some time but blood and slaughter, till at last the plunder of the Town and the Prisoners having a little satisfied

ed their appetites, they think of securing the rest. Most of the Scots Foot were slain or taken, but three thousand Horse made their escape. The number of the slain and prisoners was about ten thousand. Those of Quality taken were Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnworth, Shrewsbury, Cleveland, Derby and Kelby; and several other Lords and Gentlemen; six Collonels of Horse, thirteen of Foot; nine Lieutenant Collonels of horse, eight of foot; six Majors of horse, thirteen of foot; thirty seven Captains of Horse, seventy two of foot; fifty five Quarter-masters of Horse, eighty nine Lieutenants of foot; seventy six Cornets of horse, ninety nine Ensigns of foot; thirty of the Kings servants, nine Ministers, nine Surgeons, one hundred fifty eight Colours, the Kings Standard, Coach and Horses, with other rich plunder, and his Collar of SS. Many parties were taken in Warwickshire, Shropshire, &c. so that few of that great body but were killed or taken. M. General Massey being wounded surrendred himself, and after made his escape. M. General Middleton, Lieutenant General Lesley, were taken in another place; and soon after most of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland were taken at a place called Ellet in that Kingdom, where they were assembled to propagate the Royal cause, namely, Old General Lesley, Earl Marshal, Earl of Crawford, the Lords Keith, Ogilby, Burgoiny, Huntley, Ley, with many Knights, Gentlemen and Ministers, which soon after were ship'd and sent for England.

Such was the sudden change of the condition of the Scots and the King, that he who a few days before was proclaimed King of Great Britain, had now neither Camp nor Garrison to retire to, five hundred pounds sterling being offered to discover him; so that after travelling in disguise, and through many dangers about England, he at length found an opportunity to imbark at Shoreham in Suffex for New-haven

haven in France, where he arrived Octob. 2. following. Of the great number of prisoners taken, none of Quality suffered but the Earl of Derby, who was beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire, and Sir Tim. Fetherstone : Others of less note suffered at Chester, Shrewsbury, and other places. Nor did many of the Royalists themselves expect any better fortune in this expedition than what happened, as appears by Duke Hamiltons Letter to Sir Williams Crofts, taken among other papers a few days before the fight, to this purpose : ' We are all laughing at the ridiculousness of our condition, who having quitted Scotland being scarce able to maintain it, yet we grasp at all and nothing but all will satisfie us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell, whether our hopes or fears are greatest, but we have one stout Argument, and that is despair, for we must now either shortly Fight or Dye. All the Rogues have left us, I will not say whether for fear or disloyalty, but all now with His Majesty, are such as will not dispute his commands. So that we see this undertaking was not the product of deliberate counsel, but of necessity and desperation.

This battle put a period to the Kings hopes of getting the Government by Arms, and on the other hand, secured to Cromwel all his former Conquests, the influence whereof, though acted in England, was great in Scotland, for their principal Nobility and souldiery being cut off, they were no longer able to bear up, but were soon reduced to the obedience of England. And Cromwel giving an account to the Parliament of this great success, he concludes his Letter by telling them, That this was a crowning Victory, which was afterward thought to proceed from the foresight of his future Greatness. This fight happened Sept. 3. 1651. that very day twelvemonth wherein the Scots received that fatal blow at Dunbar afore-mentioned. After the battel, Cromwel

staid no longer than to see the Walls of Worcester levelled to the ground, and the Ditches filled up with earth, to discover his aversion to the Inhabitants for receiving his Enemies into it, and Sept. 12. came to London, being met at Acton by the Parliament and their Speaker, the Lord Mayor of London, Aldermen and Recorder, and hundreds of others; to whom Steel the City Recorder made a Congratulatory Oration, extolling all his Victories and Exploits with the highest flights of Rhetorick, and applying to him the words of Psalm 149, 'Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand, to execute vengeance upon the Heathen, and punishments upon the people, to bind their Kings with chains, and their Nobles with fetters of Iron, to execute upon them the judgment written; this honour have all the Saints, praise ye the Lord. After which, he was conducted in triumph to his House near White-Hall, great number of Scotch prisoners coming after him, through Tuthill-fields to Westminster, as Trophies of his Victories, and the Colours taken there, with those at Dunbar, Westminster, Preston, were hung up in Westminster-Hall. After a short repose, General Cromwel, and Lieutenant General Lambert, went to take their places in parliament, where they were entertained by the Speaker with a second Congratulatory Oration, magnifying their courage and gallantry, and acknowledging the great obligation which the people of England were under toward them. The same day the Lord Mayor feasted the General and his Officers, where mutual returns of kindness passed between them, to the satisfaction of both parties.

Oct. 14. 1651. Collonel Hayn with two Regiments of foot, and two Troops of Horse, were shipp'd at Weymouth for reducing the Isle of Jersey, in eighty Vessels, under the command of General Blake, who came

came to St. Owens Bay, where the ships running aground, the men leapt out, some to the middle, others up to the neck in wa er, and ran ashoar, the enemy playing hard upon them with great and small shot, and gave a hot charge with their Horse ; yet after half an hours dispute they fled, and left behind them twelve cannon and some colours. After which the English marched further into the Island, within sight of Elizabeth Castle, under which was a Fort called St. Albans Tower, where were fourteen Guns, which upon summons was delivered, and so was Orgueil castle, and soon after Elizabeth castle, upon very good terms to the Garrison, and Governour Sir George Cartaret, because of its great strength. The Isle of Man was likewise reduced in a short time, with the Castles of Peele and Rushen, both very strong, and almost impregnable (as well as Cornet castle in the Isle of Guernsey) if the besieged had had resolution to defend them. About this time died Admiral Popham, and Henry Ireton, Son-in law to Oliver Cromwel, at Lymerick, which Kingdom in a little while after was wholly subdued, and brought under the obedience of the Government of England.

The Parliament now passed two or three considerable Acts, one for Incorporating Scotland into one Common-wealth with England ; another of Oblivion and free pardon ; a third to determine the Session of this Parliament on No. 3. 1654. a fourth for the increase of shipping, and encouragement of Navigation, wherein was enacted, ' That no Goods or Commodities of the growth or manufacture of any places, in Asia, Africa, America, or Europe, should be imported into England, Ireland, or any of the Territories thereof, but only in English ships. under the penalty of forfeiting the Goods and Ships : And that no Goods whatsoever shall be brought in, unless they be shipp'd from the places of their
E 2 ' growth

' growth and manufacture only. Also that no Fish,
 ' or Oyl made of Fish or Whale-bone, shall be im-
 ' ported, but only such as shall be caught in Vessels
 ' belonging to the English. Lastly, that no kind of
 ' salted fish, from Feb. 1. 1652. shall be exported
 ' in any other save English Vessels, with several
 ' other exceptions and provisoes, in reference to
 ' East-India Goods, and of commodities from Turkey,
 ' Spain and Portugal.

This last Act was very grateful to the Merchants
 and Seamen, but did extreemly surprize and disturb
 the Hollanders, as judging it would cause a vast di-
 minution in their Trade, which with so much advan-
 tage they had long driven, to the loss and detriment
 of the English Nation; who thereupon sent Amba-
 sadors to desire it might be repealed, but not suc-
 ceeding herein, they began to dispute our ancient
 right of the Flag in the British Seas, by refusing to
 strike sail to our Men of War, which occasioned a
 breach between the two Republicks, for in May 1652.
 Admiral Trump, with about forty two sail of Dutch
 ships, was discovered on the back of the Goodwin
 Sands, bearing toward Dover Road: Major Brown
 being near with a Squadron of English ships, sent the
 Grey-hound frigate to speak with them, to whom they
 struck their Topsail, saying, They came with a mes-
 sage from Admiral Trump, to our commander in
 chief, and coming aboard, said, That the great
 North winds had forced them farther South then they
 intended, being compelled to ride some days off
 Dunkirk, where they had lost divers Anchors and
 Cables, professing they intended no injury to the
 English Nation. General Blake, who was Westward
 with the rest of the English Fleet, having speedy ad-
 vice of this passage, hastened toward them, and
 next morning, May, 19. saw them at Anchor in Do-
 ver Road, and being within three Leagues of them,
 they stood Eastward, and received an Express from
 the

the States, upon which they bore directly up to our Fleet, Van Trump being headmost; whereupon, Blake shot three Guns without Ball at his Flag, and Trump answered with a Gun on the adverse side of the ship, signifying a disdain, and instead of striking his Topsail, hung out a red flag, which was the signal, for his whole fleet, and gave General Blake a broad side. The fight continued four hours, till Night parted them, in which one Dutch ship was sunk, and another of thirty Guns taken, with the Captains of both, and about one hundred and fifty prisoners. Of the English about ten were slain, and forty wounded; the English Admiral was much damaged in her Masts, Sails, Rigging, and Hull, but the rest of the Fleet had inconsiderable loss.

This attempt of the Hollanders, while we were upon Treaty, so incensed the Parliament, that all the Addresses and Overtures of their Ambassadors, and the sending hither two more, could not appease them; yea, though they by several papers endeavoured to excuse it, alledging, ' That the unhappy ' Fight between the ships of both Common-wealths, ' happened without the knowledge, and against the ' wills of the States, taking God the searcher of mens ' hearts to witness the same, and that with grief and ' astonishment they received the fatal News of that ' unhappy rash action, and thereupon consulted ' about a remedy to this raw and bloody wound, by ' appointing a solemn meeting of all the Provinces, ' whereby they doubted not (by Gods favour) to ' remove not only the outward, but inward cause ' of all further differences, for the benefit of both Nations, and to avoid the detestable shedding of ' Christian blood, so much desired by their Enemies, ' and therefore beseech the Council of State, by the ' pledges of common Religion and Liberty, to do ' nothing out of heat, which afterward with vain ' wishes can never be recalled; which they desire

the more because their ships of War and Merchandize are detained in the English Ports.

To this the Parliament replied, ' That calling to mind the demonstrations of friendship and good correspondence, which they have always discovered towards the States General; during all the troubles in England, they are much surprized at such unsuitable returns, especially at the Acts of Hostility lately committed in the very Roads of England, upon the ships of this Common-wealth; and though they would willingly believe that the late Engagements of the Fleets happened without their knowledge or consent, yet when they consider how disagreeable the actions of that State, and their Officers at Sea, have been, in the midst of a Treaty offered by themselves, and managed here by their Ambassadors, and the extraordinary preparation of one hundred and fifty ships, without any visible occasion, and the Instructions given by the States to their commanders at Sea, they have too much cause to believe that the States General design, by force, to Usurp the known Right of England in the Seas, to destroy the Fleets that are (under God) their Walls and Bulwarks, and thereby expose the Nation to be Invaded at pleasure, as by their late action they have attempted to do : Therefore the Parliament think themselves obliged to endeavour (by Gods assistance) to seek reparations for the wrongs already suffered, and security against any such attempts for the future, yet still desiring that all differences, if possible, may be peaceably and amicably composed.

This answer quite broke off the Treaty, and the Ambassadors having had audience of the Parliament, took their leaves and departed.

And now these mighty States prepare to engage each other, and accordingly General Blake, with a gallant Fleet advanced North towards the Isles of Orkney

Orkney, to seize all Vessels that were Fishing there, who took twelve Dutch Men of War that were guarding the Busses, but discharged most of the Busses; and Sir George Ayscough with his Squadron, being left to guard the narrow Seas, discovered about thirty Dutch ships between Dover and Calice, of which ten were taken and burnt, the rest run ashore on the Coasts of France. Many other Dutch and French Prizes were daily taken. Thence Sir George Ayscough sailed West, to seek out the Dutch Fleet, and Convoy home some Merchant-men from Plymouth; and being within seven or eight Leagues of Plymouth, he had advice of them, whereupon he resolved to stand over to the Coast of France, and next day, Aug. 16. 1652. had sight of them, being about sixty sail of Men of War, and thirty Merchant men; the English were but thirty eight sail, four Fireships, and four Advice-ships, yet they resolved to engage the Enemy: Sir George Ayscough and six other Frigates, charged through the whole Dutch Fleet, receiving much damage in their Masts, Hulls, Sails and Rigging, yet they tack'd about, and charged them all again till dark Night, and had not some English Captains been deficient in their duty, they had probably destroyed their whole Navy. In this Ingagement some few English were slain and wounded, and three Captains; a Fire-ship of theirs was sunk, with two other ships, but the darkness of the Night concealed their other losses, who stood away for the Coasts of France, and the English for Plymouth to repair.

During this fight, Blake came from the North into the Downs, and took six rich Dutch Prizes, sending some Frigates to reinforce Ayscough, and soon after Captain Pen, with his Squadron, hovering on the Coasts of France, surprized six stout Men of War more, now returned from the Venerian service, and richly laden. Sept. 5. General Blake riding in

the Downs, had notice of a French Fleet in Calice Road, to whom he made up and chased them as far as they durst for the sands of Dunkirk, taking most of them, being ten Men of VVar between thirty one and twenty eight Guns, and six Fireships: This Fleet was to take in provisions at Calice, for the relief of Dunkirk, then besieged by the Spaniards, who being prevented of this succour, soon after surrendred, as also Graveling. Sept. 27. General Blake discovered about sixty sail of Dutch Men of VVar on the back of Goodwin-sands, commanded by Admiral de VVit; next day, Blake with his Fleet bore in among them, but being upon a sand called the Kentish knock, under which the Dutch had purposely secured themselves, four of our chief Ships were on ground, but soon got off, and resolved to ingage them, but the wind prevented them from coming up, yet with much ado, got next day within shot upon which the Dutch set up their main sails and ran for it, whom ten Frigates chased till Night, and next day pursued them till they had sight of VVest Gabel in Zealand and saw them run into Goree; upon which, the English fearing to sail further upon the Holland coast, returned back. In this skirmish, the Dutch-Rere-Admiral was lost, with a Fly-boat that towed her, and many men killed; about forty English were slain, and as many wounded.

The VVar between these two States reached to the Mediterranean Sea, whither the English had sent several Frigates to secure the Merchants ships from the Privateers of Toulon and Marseilles, and a Squadron of four sail, with three Smyrna ships under their convoy, happened to meet with eleven Dutch men of VVar, who having such great advantage, presently fell upon them, but met with stout resistance, two of their main-top masts being shot down, and one of their ships fired but quenched again. The Phoenix, a stout ship of forty five Guns, was taken by the Dutch,

the

the Paragon lost twenty seven men, and had about sixty wounded ; the Elizabeth had only two Barrels of powder left, yet in despite of the Enemy, they brought their Merchants safe into Porto Congone, near the Isle of Corfica, where the fight was. The Dutch much gloried in this small success, though they obtained it dearly, and more by their number than valour, the English never giving over while they had men or ammunition.

The Hollanders extremely concerned at the continual loss of their ships, used their utmost industry in fitting out a Fleet, though it were in December, and the twentieth of that month, appeared on the back of the Goodwin with Ninety men of VVar, and ten Fireships. The English under General Blake were but forty two, and not half Mann'd, most of the great ships being laid up, yet they resolv'd to engage them, and accordingly, December 30. both Fleets met, the English having the VVearth-gage, and as few as they were, several of them never came up pretending want of men, so that the stress of the fight lay upon a few who were to encounter the whole Dutch Fleet. The Van-guard and the Victory engaged twenty of the Hollanders, from first to last, and yet got clear of them all. The Garland and Bonadventure were taken, and Blake going to relieve the first, had his fore-mast shot by the board, was twice boarded and yet got off, as did all the rest but those two forementioned ; and soon after, two Merchant-ships fell into the enemies hands. Blake with his Fleet withdrew into Lee-Road to repair, and the Dutch boasted of this Victory, by their Ambassadors, in all the Courts of Christendom.

But this small loss did only rouse and awaken the English courage, who thought on nothing but Revenge ; and to encourage them, the Parliament ordered the Seamens wages to be raised, from eight

to twenty three Shillings a month, and that for every Prize taken, they shall have ten shillings for every Tun, and six pound ten shillings and four pence for every great Gun, whether Iron or Brass, to be divided among the ships crew, according to their Offices, and all upon or above the Gun-deck to be prize. Likewise to have ten pound a Gun for every man of War they shall sink or destroy, to be divided as aforesaid, with a months pay gratis to all Volunteers that shall list themselves within forty days; and care taken for paying and curing the sick and wounded, with several other advantages: Which being Printed and published, the Seamen came in apace, so that in February following, the English had a stout Fleet at Sea, though the Dutch endeavoured to hinder all Nations from supplying us with Pitch, Tar, or Masts.

Feb. 18 1653. The Dutch Navy, of about eighty sail, with one hundred and fifty Merchant men from Roan, Nants and Burdeaux, were discovered between the Isle of Wight and Portland, and about eight in the morning, the headmost of the English Fleet came up and engaged them, which was General Blake in the Triumph, General Dean, and three or four more, the rest being to the Leeward, and not able to come up; yet these few held thirty of the Dutch men of War in play, from eight till two in the afternoon, when about half the English Fleet came up and engaged the enemy till Night parted them. In this fight the English lost only the Sampson, a Dutch prize, which being unserviceable, themselves sunk, the men being all saved; which ship sunk the adversary that maimed her. Next day the English chased the Dutch a good while, whereby some of the Enemies ships were brought to the Lee and destroyed, The day after they engaged again, and the dispute grew so hot, that the Hollanders began to fire out of their stern-most ports, and make away;

so that fifty Merchant ships fell into our hands, and nine men of War, several others being sunk, besides what they themselves sunk as unserviceable, and it was writ from France, that above two thousand dead bodies of the Dutch were seen about their shoars; fifteen hundred were taken prisoners and brought to London; General Blake was wounded, and several English Captains slain.

The Dutch deeply sensible of this loss, sent a Letter to the Parliament of England, signed only by the States of Holland: To which the parliament returned answer, signifying their desire of a friendly compliance to avoid further mischiefs; but it had no effect. But the English, to allay their joy for this Victory, met with a great check in the Streights, for having by a stratagem regained the Phoenix frigate from the Dutch, as she lay in Legorn-Haven, they prepared for another encounter with them: Captain Boddily, with nine men of War, sailed from Porto Congone, to assist Captain Apleton at Legorn, where he had been kept in for several months by twenty two Holland frigates; upon his approach, Captain Apleton weighed out of the Mole a little too soon with his ships, and was instantly engaged by the whole Dutch Fleet, who having the wind, their Admiral and two others boarded the Leopard, a stout ship of above fifty Guns, who fought bravely five hours, but at length was over-powered. The Bonaventure, by a shot in her powder-room, took fire and was blown up. The Peregrinie was engaged with four or five Dutch at a time, and having her main-mast and mizen-mast, shot away, was also taken. The Levant-Merchant was first boarded by one of the Enemies ships of thirty six Guns, and after two hours Fight, by another as big, the first of which she sunk presently after, and yet was also possessed by the Dutch. The Sampson was boarded by young Rere Admiral Trumpon one side, and a Fireship

the other, and so was soon burnt. The loss of these five ships, was the greatest damage the English sustained since the War began, and was done in the sight of Captain Boddily and nine English frigates, who did not in the least assist them; for which they were branded with Cowardice and Treachery.

At this time the King of Portugal, unable to resist the power of the English at Sea, sent over an Extraordinary Ambassador to conclude a peace, and to give satisfaction for the Merchants losses. An Agent was likewise sent from the French King, desiring the release of his Ships taken going for the relief of Dunkirk, and to have a right understanding between the two Republicks. And on the other side, four Deputies were sent from the Prince of Conde, to crave aid against Cardinal Mazarine and his party, who had strictly besieged the City of Bordeaux, but all mediation proved ineffectual, the breach being too great between the two States to be easily cemented. Other Nations likewise endeavoured to be Mediators between England and Holland, as the Queen of Sweden, the Cantons of Switzerland, the Imperial Cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, but all was fruitless.

This was the posture of the Civil and Military affairs of this Nation, when General Cromwel, with Major General Lambert, Harrison, and seven or eight Officers more, came to the House of Commons, April 23. 1653. with about twelve souldiers, whom he ordered to wait at the Door, and being entered, spake to this purpose: ‘ You have sufficiently deluded the people, and provided for your own and your Relations benefits, possessing these seats under a pretence of forming a Common-wealth, of reforming the Laws, and promoting the publick Good, whereby you have imposed upon the Kingdom, whilst in the meantime you have only invaded the goods of the Common-wealth, have thrust

‘ thrust your selves and Relations into the gainfullest,
 ‘ and most honourable Offices, only to nourish Lux-
 ‘ ury and Impiety. Then stamping on the ground,
 which was a sign to the souldiers at the door, ‘ For
 ‘ shame (says he) rise quickiy hence and give
 ‘ place to those that are honest, and will better
 ‘ perform their Trusts. Upon which, they all be-
 gan to move, some by force or fear, others murmur-
 ing; but the Speaker not rising readily out of the
 Chair, Major General Harrison lent him his hand,
 and gently lifted him out. General Cromwel also
 commanded that bauble, as he called the Mace, to
 be taken away. When the Members were all de-
 parted, the doors were lock’d up, and Guards set up-
 on them, and all the Avenues of the House. And
 thus was this mighty parliament dissolved or dismissed
 (after near twelve years sitting; and after having
 transacted so many great affairs) and this without op-
 position or disturbance; their powers transferred in-
 to the hands of the Souldiery, and their Names re-
 proached and vilified by the common people: But
 to satisfie the Nation, General Cromwel, and his
 Officers, published a Declaration which they had
 prepared the day before, of the Reasons of their
 proceedings, as followeth:

‘ Our intention is not, as this time, to give an ac-
 ‘ count of the grounds which first moved us to take
 ‘ up Arms, and ingage our lives, and all that was
 ‘ dear unto us in this Cause, nor to mind in this
 ‘ Declaration the various dispensations through which
 ‘ Divine Providence hath led us, or the Witness the
 ‘ Lord hath born, and the many signal Testimonies
 ‘ he hath given to the sincere endeavours of his un-
 ‘ worthy Servants, whilst they were contesting with
 ‘ many and great difficulties, as well in the Wars,
 ‘ as other Transactions in the three Nations, being
 ‘ necessitated in the defence of the same Cause, they
 ‘ first

first asserted, to have recourse unto extraordinary actions, the same being evident by former Declarations published on that behalf. And after God was pleased, not only to reduce Ireland, and give in Scotland, but so marvellously to appear for his people at Worcester, that these Nations were reduced to a degree of peace, and England to perfect quiet, whereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the people the Harvest of all their labour, blood and treasure. and to settle a due liberty, in reference to Civil and Spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their Duty and engagements, and those great and wonderful things, God hath wrought for them, yet they made so little progress therein, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the Land; who thereupon, applied themselves to the Army, who (though unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority) agreed that such Officers as were Members of Parliament, should move them to proceed vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the Commonwealth, and in settling it upon a foundation of Justice and Righteousness : Which being done, it was hoped the Parliament would have answered their expectations.

But finding the contrary, they renewed their desires in an humble Petition in August 1652. which produced no considerable effect; nor was any such progress made therein, as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was Petitioned for, but rather an averiness to the things themselves, with much bitterness and opposition to the people of God, and his spirit acting in them, insomuch that the Godly party in Parliament were rendred of no further use than to countenance the ends of a corrupt party, for effecting the desire they had of perpetuating themselves in the Supream Government. For which purpose, the

said

‘ said party long opposed, and frequently declared
 ‘ themselves against having a new Representative,
 ‘ and when they saw themselves necessitated to take
 ‘ this Bill into consideration, they resolved to
 ‘ make use of it to recruit the House with persons
 ‘ of the same spirit and temper, thereby to perpetuate
 ‘ their own sitting; which intention, divers of
 ‘ the activest among them did manifest, labouring
 ‘ to perswade others to a consent therein, and the
 ‘ better to effect this, divers petitions preparing
 ‘ from several Counties, for the continuance of this
 ‘ Parliament, were encouraged, if not set on foot by
 ‘ many of them.

‘ For obviating these evils, the Officers of the Army
 ‘ obtained several meetings with some of the
 ‘ Parliament, to consider what remedy might be applied
 ‘ to prevent the same, but such endeavours
 ‘ proving ineffectual, it became evident that this
 ‘ Parliament, through the corruption of some, the
 ‘ jealousy of others, and the non-attendance of
 ‘ many, would never answer those ends, which
 ‘ God, his people, and the whole Nation expected
 ‘ from them, but that this Cause which God had so
 ‘ greatly blessed, must needs languish under their
 ‘ hands, and by degrees be lost, and the lives, liberties,
 ‘ and comforts of his people, be delivered into
 ‘ to their enemies hands.

‘ All which being sadly and seriously considered
 ‘ by the honest people of the Nation, as well as by
 ‘ the Army, it seemed a duty incumbent upon us,
 ‘ who had seen so much of the power and presence
 ‘ of God, to consider of some effectual means whereby
 ‘ to establish Righteousness and Peace in these
 ‘ Nations.

‘ And after much debate, it was judged necessary
 ‘ that the supream Government should be by the
 ‘ Parliament devolved upon known persons, fearing
 ‘ God, and of approved Integrity; and the Govern-
 ‘ men

ment of the Common-wealth committed to them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all Gods people, reform the Laws; and administer Justice impartially, hoping thereby the people may forget Monarchy, and understanding their true Election of successive Parliaments, may have the Government settled upon a true Basis, without hazard to this glorious Cause, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the same.

And being still resolved to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament to give us a conference, with whom we freely and calmly debated the Necessity and Justice of our proposals in that behalf, and did evidence that those, and not the Act under their consideration, would most probably bring forth something answerable to that work, the foundation whereof God hath laid, and is now carrying on in the World.

The which notwithstanding, found no acceptance, but instead thereof it was offered, that the way was to continue still this present Parliament, as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good things. And this being vehemently insisted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehensions, that not any love to a Representative, but the making use thereof to recruit, and so to perpetuate themselves, was their aim.

They being plainly dealt with about this, and told, That neither the Nation, the honest Interest, nor we our selves, would be deluded by such dealings, they did agree to meet again the next day in the Afternoon, for mutual satisfaction; it being consented to by the Members present, that endeavours should be used, that nothing in the meantime should be done in Parliament, that might exclude or frustrate the proposals before-mentioned.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding this, the next morning the Parliament did make more haste than usual in carrying on their said Act, being helped on therein by some of the persons ingaged to us the Night before, none of them which were then present endeavouring to oppose the same, and being ready to put the main Question for consummating the said Act, whereby our foresaid proposals would have been rendred void, and the way of bringing them into a fair and full debate of Parliament obstructed.

For preventing whereof, and all the sad and evil consequences which must upon the grounds aforesaid have ensued, and whereby at one blow the Interest of all honest men, and of this glorious Cause, had been indangered to be laid in the dust, and these Nations imbroiled in new troubles, at a time when our Enemies abroad are watching all opportunities against us, and some of them actually engaged in War with us, we have been necessitated, though with much reluctance to put an end to this parliament, which yet we have done, we hope, out of an honest heart, preferring this Cause above our Names, Families, Lives or Interests, how dear soever, with clear intentions, and real purposes of heart, to call to the Government persons of approved fidelity and honesty, believing that as none wise will expect to gather Thistles of Thorns, so good men will hope, that if persons so qualified be chosen, the fruits of a Just and Righteous Reformation, so long prayed for, and wished for, will, by the blessing of God, be in due time obtained, to the refreshing of all those good hearts who have been panting after these things.

Much more might have been said, if it had been our desire to justify our selves by aspersing others, and traking into the mis-government of affairs, but we shall conclude with this, That as we have been

‘ been led by necessity and Providence to act as we
‘ have done, even above and beyond our own
‘ thoughts and desires, so we shall and do, in that
‘ of this great work which is behind, put our selves
‘ wholly upon the Lord for a blessing, professing we
‘ look not to stand one day without his support,
‘ much less to bring to pass one of the things men-
‘ tioned and desired without his assistance; and
‘ therefore do solemnly desire and expect, That all
‘ men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their
‘ own destruction, would wait for such an issue as
‘ he should bring forth, and to follow their business
‘ with peaceable spirits, wherein we promise them
‘ protection by his assistance.

‘ And for those who profess their fear and love
‘ to the Name of God, that seeing in a great mea-
‘ sure for their sakes, and for righteousness sake, we
‘ have taken our lives in our hands to do these
‘ things, they would be instant with the Lord day
‘ and night on our behalfs, that we may obtain
‘ grace from him: And seeing we have made so of-
‘ ten mention of his Name, that we may not do the
‘ least dishonour thereto, which indeed would be
‘ our confusion, and a stain to the whole profession
‘ of godliness.

‘ We beseech them also to live in all humility,
‘ meekness, righteousness, and love towards one ano-
‘ ther, and towards all men, that so we may put to
‘ silence the Ignorance of the foolish that falsely ac-
‘ cuse them, and to know that the late great and glo-
‘ rious Dispensations, wherein the Lord hath so glo-
‘ riously appeared, in bringing forth these things
‘ by the travel and blood of his Children, ought so
‘ to oblige them, so to walk in the wisdom and love
‘ of Christ, as may cause others to honour their ho-
‘ ly profession, because they see Christ to be in them
‘ of a truth.

‘ We do further purpose bee it before long, more
‘ particularly

‘ particularly to shew the grounds of our proceedings, and the reasons of this late great action and change, which in this we have but hinted at.

‘ And we do lastly declare, That all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, Committees, and all other Civil Officers, and publick Ministers whatsoever, within the Common-wealth, or any parts thereof, do proceed in their respective places and offices, and all persons whatsoever are to give Obedience to them, as fully as when the Parliament was sitting.

Signed in the Name, and by the appointment of his Excellency the Lord General, and his Council of Officers.

White-Hall, April
22. 1653.

William Malyn, Secret.

This Declaration being published throughout the Nation, was assented to by most of the chief Officers both by Sea and Land, but for satisfaction of the Civil Magistrates, and to prevent disturbance, this second Declaration was soon after published.

‘ Whereas the Parliament being dissolved, persons of approved fidelity and honesty, and according to the late Declaration of the 22d. instant, to be called from several parts of this Commonwealth, to the supream Authority, and although effectual proceedings are, and have been had for perfecting those resolutions, yet some convenient time being required for the assembling of those persons, it hath been found necessary, for preventing the mischiefs and inconveniences which may arise in the mean while to the publick affairs, that a Council of State be constituted to take care of, and intend the peace, safety, and present management

' ment of the affairs of the Common-wealth; which
 ' being settled accordingly, the same is hereby de
 ' clared and published, to the end all persons may
 ' take notice thereof, and in their several places and
 ' stations demean themselves peaceably, giving obe
 ' dience to the Laws of the Nation as heretofore, in
 ' the exercise and administration whereof, as endea
 ' vours shall be used, that no oppression or wrong
 ' be done to the people; so strict account will be
 ' required of all such as shall do any thing to endan
 ' ger the publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence
 ' whatsoever.

April 30.
 1653.

O. Cromwel.

The Hollanders hoped to reap advantage from
 these Resolutions, but found themselves mistaken,
 the Naval affairs being still managed with as much ap
 plication as before, as they soon felt to their cost;
 for the Dutch having a great Fleet of Merchants
 ships Outward bound, durst not venture through the
 channel, but with a Fleet of about Ninety Men of
 War, convoyed them by the North of Scotland to
 ward the sound, and there met with another Fleet of
 Merchant men Homeward bound, from Russia, East
 India, and France, whom they brought home safe,
 and hearing the English Fleet was Northwards came
 into the downs, taking two or three small Vessels and
 made some shot into Dover Town, boasting the En
 glish Fleet was lost, and that they would send a Hue
 and Cry after them, when on a sudden, the English
 Navy arrived from the North, and came into Yar
 mouth-Road.

June 1. Being at Anchor in Sole-Bay, they disco
 vered two Dutch Galliot Hoyfes, to whom chase was
 given

given till the whole Dutch Fleet was discovered, but the weather, proving dark, they lost sight of them. June 3. Our Fleet being at Anchor off the Humber, discovered the Enemy about two Leagues to seaward, being about a 100 sail, and weighed toward them; about Noon both Fleets were Engaged, which for some hours were very sharp, so that in the Evening the Dutch bore right away before the wind. Next day at Noon they engaged again, and after four hours dispute, the Hollanders would have got away, but the wind freshing Westerly. the English bore in so hard among them, that they took eleven Men of War, two water Hoys, six Captains, fifteen hundred prisoners, and sunk six men of War more; the rest escaped by the darkness of the Night and the Flatts. The English lost General Dean one of their Admirals, who was killed with a great shot the first day, with one Captain, and about one hundred and fifty men more, and two hundred and forty wounded, but not one ship was lost. The English were much encouraged by General Blakes coming in, during the fight, with sixteen sail of stout men of War. The Dutch having in the Night got into the Wielings, the Flye and Texel, it was resolved to sail as near the Coast as was safe, where the English lay for some time, taking many prizes, to the great damage of the Hollanders, whose ships could neither go in or out, from any one Port, to join together to oppose them.

General Cromwel, and his Council of Officers, having considered of the qualifications of the next Parliament, and made a List of those persons in England, Scotland and Ireland, to whom they designed to commit the Legislative power, Warrants were issued out for them to appear at the Council Chamber at White-Hall, July 4. 1653. to this effect :

‘ Forasmuch

' Forasmuch as upon the dissolution of the late
 ' Parliament, it became necessary that the peace,
 ' safety, and good Government of this Common-
 ' wealth should be provided for, and in order there-
 ' unto divers persons fearing God, and of appro-
 ' ved fidelity and honesty, are by my self, with
 ' the advice of my Council of Officers, Nomina-
 ' ted, to whom the great charge and trust, of so
 ' weighty affairs is to be committed; and having
 ' good assurance of your love to, and courage for
 ' God; and the Interest of his Cause, and the good
 ' people of this Common-wealth,

' I Oliver Cromwel, Captain General, and Com-
 ' mander in chief of all the Armies and Forces rai-
 ' sed, or to be raised within this Common-wealth,
 ' do hereby summon and require you, being the
 ' persons Nominated, personally to be, and ap-
 ' pear, at the Council-Chamber, commonly called
 ' or known by the Name of the Council-Chamber
 ' at White-Hall, within the City of Westminster,
 ' upon the fourth day of July, next insuing the
 ' date hereof, then and there to take upon you the
 ' said Trust, unto which you are hereby called and
 ' appointed, to serve as a Member for the County of

' And hereby you are not to fail. Given
 ' under my Hand and Seal the eighth day of June,
 ' 1653.

O. Cromwel.

July 4. The persons summoned to the number of
 an hundred forty four, out of the three Kingdoms,
 met accordingly at the Council-Chamber at White-
 Hall, where was General Cromwel and several of his
 Officers, who made a Speech to them, recounting,
 ' The many wonderful mercies of God to this Na-
 ' tion, and the continued series of Providences by

' which

which he had appeared in carrying on this Cause, and bringing affairs into the present condition ; with their progress since the famous victory at Worcester, and the actings of the Army thereupon, after divers applications to the Parliament, and waiting upon them, with the grounds and necessity of their dissolving, which he declared to be for the preservation of this Cause, and the interest of all honest men, who have been engaged therein. He then told them of the clearness of the Call given to the Members then present, to take upon them the supream Authority, and from the Scriptures exhorted them to their duty, desiring that a tenderness might be used toward all conscientious persons of what Judgment soever.

After which, General Cromwel produced an Instrument under his own hand and Seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his Officers, devolve and entrust the supream Authority and Government of the Common-wealth, into the hands of the persons there met, who, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the supream Authority of the Nation, unto whom all persons within the same, and the Territories thereto belonging, were to yield obedience and subjection. and that they should sit no longer than Nov. 3. 1654. and three months before the dissolution. they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who were not to sit above twelve months, and then to provide for a succession of Government. Which Instruction being delivered them, the General commended them to God, and himself with his Officers withdrew. From thence the Members forthwith adjourned to the Parliament-House at Westminster, and first considered what Title to take to themselves, and after three days debate, they resolved they would be called, the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, and chose Mr. Rous for their Speaker. About

About this time John Lilburn, being a few months before banished by an Act of the last Parliament, for certain crimes he was charged with, took occasion, upon this change of Government, to return into England, and cast himself upon General Cromwel, craving his protection in several publick Addresses, who declining to meddle in this affair, left him to the Law, and he was committed to Newgate, and the next Sessions being brought to the Old-Baily, he first demanded Council, which was granted him : Next day he refused to put in his Plea, unless he might have a Copy of his Indictment, which was likewise admitted. Next day he delivered in his Bill of Exceptions to this Indictment, after that he demanded a Copy of the Judgment given against him in Parliament, together with the Act : Then he joined issue, and made his defence for several hours, and about twelve at Night, the Jury brought him in not Guilty ; but he was sent back to Newgate, and thence to the Tower, where he continued some time, and then turned Quaker, and dying soon after, was buried from the Bull and Mouth Meeting place near Aldersgate, with a numerous company of that party attending him to his Grave.

As to the condition of Scotland at this time, the English had taken most of their strong Towns, Forts, and Castles, in the Low-lands, yet the High-landers made divers Incursions upon them, robbing and killing many, and then returned to their inaccessible Fastnesses, where they could not be pursued, being commanded by the Lords Glencarn, Athol, Seatorch, and others ; the last of whom sent a summons to a Ship that lay at Anchor at Lewis Island, (having before surprized seven or eight men that went ashore for provisions) a Copy of which follows :

- ‘ Being incited, not only by conscience, but honour
- ‘ to stand firm to the principles of loyalty ; but also
- ‘ disdaining, even in rational Interest, to stoop to such

' a wavering and servile power as now Ruleth, I
' have laid hold on those men come afloat as pro-
' moting the same : Wherefore I summon you to de-
' liver your Vessel for His Majesties service, and being
' certainly perswaded that all, or most part of you,
' are with grief of heart imployed in such service, I
' assure all that will voluntarily shun the unnecessary
' effusion of blood by that surrender, shall have such
' fair Quarter as is fitting for me to grant, and as your
' several conditions do require ; and according to
' your demeanours herein, you may expect to find
' me your friend accordingly.

For the Captain, Master and
Mariners of the Fortune.

Seaforth.

But the Captain did not think fit to obey this sum-
mons, sailing away, and leaving his men behind. And
thus they continued awhile in expectation of supplies
of men from Lieutenant Gen. Midleton, and the Low
Countries ; but in the mean time, a considerable party
under the E. of Glencarn were defeated, himself
hardly escaping, and afterward several other parties
by the English, so that they could not join. At length
Midleton arrived from Holland with the expected
provisions of War, and a Commission to be General,
and Monroe Lieutenant General ; which so incensed
Glencarn, that he who had employed his utmost inte-
rest in raising men, must now be commanded by
others, that they quarrelled among themselves. Glen-
carn was contented to be L. General, but Monro
would not agree to it, whereupon a Duel was fought
between them, in which Monro being wounded and
disarmed, deserted the service with about 500 Gen-
tlemen, and agreed with the Governour of Dunbarton
to live peaceably at home ; others did the like, yet
Midleton stood out still, till first in Argyle, and then
at Loughary, he was by Gen. Monk, and Coll. Morgan,
F wholly

wholly overthrown, and afterward returned to Holland; the Assembly of the Kirk was likewise dissolved by Coll. Morgan, and the Clergy subjected.

As for Ireland, it was by the English arms brought to such a condition, as there was no fear of disturbance for the future, only some few Tories kept themselves in some inaccessible places, and sometimes made irruptions to steal and plunder. An high Court of Justice was erected there, of which Cook was President, by whom many Irish, and some of their ancient Nobility, were sentenced and executed for the bloody Massacre committed upon the Protestants in 1641. and about 14000 sold to the King of Spain, and many transported into other Countries, the rest being driven into the Province of Connaught, out of which, upon pain of death, they were not to stir without leave. The other three Provinces, Ulster, Munster, and Lenster, were allotted to the English, and all forfeited Lands divided among such Adventurers as had advanced money toward the management of the Irish affairs, and for satisfaction of the souldiers arrears. General Fleetwood succeeded Ireton as Lord Governor of Ireland, by the order of Gen. Cromwel, who had married his eldest Daughter Bridget, the Widow of Ireton.

The Hollanders finding little advantage by the war with the English, sent four Commissioners hither to begin a Treaty; during which there was no cessation of arms, for at the same time a remarkable battle happened between the two Navies, July 29. 1653. The Scouts discovered a Dutch Fleet from the Wielings of about 95 men of War, upon which the English made what sail they could after them, which the enemy perceiving stood away; yet about five in the evening, near 30 of the English engaged, the rest of the Fleet being astern, so that they bore the whole brunt of that days fight till Night parted them; the Dutch were observed to send away their maimed Ships in
the

the Night, and in the dark got by with their whole Fleet, in order to join 25 sail of stout ships more from the Texel, which the English could not prevent because of the foul weather. Next morning the Dutch, with these new recruits, fell upon the English Fleet in a gallant posture, and fought courageously from five in the morning till one afternoon, both Fleets passing through, and endeavouring to burn, sink, and destroy each other. At length, the Dutch went off with the loss of some ships, either sunk or burnt; the Garland, a stout man of War, taken formerly by the Dutch from us, was burnt by the Worcester: The Triumph and the Andrew were boarded by three Dutch Fireships, and had some damage in their sails, but were quickly cleared. The Dutch observing themselves decline, made away directly for the Texel, and the English being somewhat disabled, and not daring to venture too near the Holland Coasts, it was resolved that the whole Fleet should sail for Sole Bay: The English Admirals in this fight were Gen. Blake and Gen. Monk; Pen was Vice-Admiral, and Lawson Rere-Admiral. When Monk with the English Fleet set sail, and stood out to Sea, the Dutch supposed they fled for fear, which made one of the Captains desire Van Trump to pursue, 'For, saith he, these Skellams dare not stand one broad-side from your Excellency, you may see them plainly running home, and therefore, my Lord, miss not the opportunity. But Trump, who understood better, gave this short reply, 'Sir, look to your charge, for were the enemy but 20 sail they would never refuse to fight us. The English had 300 slain in this battel, whereof seven were Captains, and 700 wounded, five of them Captains. The Dutch had about 30 ships sunk and burnt, and their renowned Lord Admiral Van Trump was slain in the midst of the fight, and out of the Dutch maimed ships that lay floating on the Sea, the English took six Captains, and about 1000 other

prisoners. This was the bloudest Ingagement that had yet happened between the two Nations, and for their valour and conduct The Parliament ordered Gold chains to be given to Blake, Monk, Pen and Lawson, as a mark of their favour, and other chains were bestowed on the Flag Captains, and Medals of silver to the Officers of the Fleet. It was after known by Letters from Holland, that they lost near six thousand men in this battel.

The Parliament having sate about Five months, in which they made several Acts, one for Marriages before a Justice of Peace, another for relief of Prisoners, another against the High Court of Chancery, another for a Tax of six months, at 120000 *l.* per month, at length they were consulting of an Act for taking away Tythes, a Committee was appointed to consider of the matter, who brought in their report Dec. 10. 1653. ' That they thought it convenient that Commissioners be sent into all the Counties, and enabled ' to eject scandalous and unable Ministers, and also ' be empowered to settle able Ministers in all void ' places: That such as are, or shall be approved for ' publick preachers of the Gospel, shall have and enjoy such maintenance as is already settled by Law. ' That upon hearing and considering what hath been ' offered to the Committee touching propriety in ' Tythes, it is their opinion that they have a legal ' propriety in them.

The Parliament having spent several days in this report, put the Question, Whether the House doth agree with the Committee, which was carried in the Negative; whereupon, several heats and divisions arose, insomuch that Dec. 12. a Gentleman stood up and moved, ' That the sitting of the Parliament, as ' then constituted, would not be for the good of the ' Common-wealth, and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up to the L. Gen. Cromwel the powers which they received from him. This motion being

being seconded by several others, the House rose, and the Speaker Mr. Rouse, with the Majority of the Members, did, by a writing under their hands, resign their powers to Gen. Cromwel, at White-Hall, by their Speaker, who thanked them for the pains they had taken for the service of the Common-wealth, though by a strange spirit and perverse principle in some of the Members, they had missed of their good intentions. Some of the Members continued still sitting in the House, to whom Coll. White was sent with a Guard of souldiers, and required them in the Name of the General to depart, for the Parliament was dissolved, who replying to the contrary, and that they were upon business, and ought not to be interrupted, he at length compelled them, though unwillingly, to leave the House.

The Parliament having thus resigned the power given them, the whole Authority, both Civil and Military of the three Nations, was concluded to be devolved into the hands of O. Cromwel, who calling a Council of Officers, with some others, to consult of the settlement of the Government, they at length resolved to have a Common-wealth in a single person : That the person should be O. Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, alledging, That it was not Monarchy which was quarrell'd at, but the Male administration and abuses therein, by its prerogative being unlimited and arbitrary ; all which would be avoided by circumscribing it in a Protector and his Council, a new Instrument of Government, and the supream power of a Triennial Parliament, in whom during their sitting, the Sovereign Authority should reside. In pursuance whereof, a Council was appointed him to consist of twenty, but fourteen only were named at present ;

Lord Lambert,
L. Viscount Lisle,

General Desborough,
Sir Gilbert Pickering,

F 3

Major

Major Gen. Skippon,	Francis Rouse, Esq ;
Sir Anth. Ash. Cooper,	Rich. Major, Esq ;
Walt. Strickland, Esq ;	John Lamence, Esq ;
Sir Ch. Woolsey ;	Coll. Ed. Monrague,
Coll. Phil. Jones ,	Coll. Will. Sydenham,

And the Instrument of Government designed to be the foundation of this new settlement, was to this effect :

That the Title of O. Cromwel should be Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging : That all proceedings shall run in the Name and stile of the Protector, and all Honours, Offices, and Titles to be derived from him : That he may pardon all offences but Treason and Murder : That the Militia, during the Parliament, shall be in his, and their hands, but in the intervals, only in his and his Councils, that he and his Council may make War and Peace with Foreign Princes : No new Laws to be made, nor old ones abrogated without consent of Parliament : A Parliament to be called within six months, and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftner, which the Protector shall not dissolve without consent of Parliament till after five months : The Parliament of English to consist of 400, to be chosen by more equal distributions in Counties and Burroughs : Of Scotch, thirty to be elected, and of Ireland as many : The Writs for Election to pass under the Seal of the Common-wealth to the Shireffs, and if the Protector omit, or deny it, then the Commissioners of the Seal shall be obliged, under pain of High-Treason, to issue out such Writs, and in case of failure in them, the High Sheriffs then do it : That such as are elected be returned into the Chancery by the chief Magistrate, Mayor, Sheriff or Bayliff, twenty days before the Session : If the Sheriff, May-
or

or or Bayliff, make a false return, or any way procure an undue Election, he shall be fined 2000 l. That none who have borne arms against the Parliament, Irish Rebels or Papists, shall be capable of being elected, and in case they be elected, to forfeit two years Revenue, and three parts of their Goods: None are to be elected under the Age of 21 years, nor unless he be a man of good conversation: None to have Votes in Elections not worth 200 l.: That sixty shall make a Quorum: The Protector, if need be, may call Parliaments in the intervals of the Triennial ones: Those Bills they make to be offered to the Protector, who refusing to sign them in 20 days, they are to pass into Acts without his consent: The Protector, with advice of his Council, in case of death, or breach of trust, is to substitute new Privy Councillors: A competent Revenue shall be settled for maintaining 10000 Horse and 15000 Foot, and the Navy not to be altered or lessened without the advice of the Council, and upon the disbanding of them, the money to be brought into the Exchequer for sudden occasions: No new Taxes nor Laws to be made without consent in parliament: All forfeited Lands unfold to belong to the Protector: The Protectorate to be Elective, but the Royal Family to be excluded: Oliver Cromwel to be present Protector: All the great Offices of the Common-wealth, such as Chancellor, Keeper of the Seal, Governor of Ireland, Admiral, &c. if they become void in parliament time, to be supplied by their approbation, or in intervals of parliament, with the approbation of the Council: The Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, to be the publick profession of the Nation, and those that administer it to be maintained by the publick, but by some way more convenient, and less liable to envy than Tythes: None are to be compelled to consent to the publick profession by fine, or any punishment

' ever, but only by perswasion and arguments: None
 ' that profess Faith in Jesus Christ are to be prohibi-
 ' ted the exercise of their Religion, provided he do
 ' not quarrel with, nor disturb others, except the pa-
 ' pists and prelatists, who are debarr'd that License:
 ' All Sales of Estates, made by parliament, to stand
 ' good: All Articles of War to be made good: And
 ' lastly, the protector and his successor, upon entring
 ' that charge, to swear to procure, by all means, the
 ' peace, quiet, and welfare of the Common-wealth,
 ' to observe these Articles, and to administer all
 ' things in his power, according to the Laws, Statutes,
 ' and Customs of England.

After this, Dec. 16. 1653. the protector came from
 White-Hall to the Chancery Court at Westminster,
 attended by the Lords Commissioners of the Great
 Seal of England, the Barons of the Exchequer, and
 Judges in their Robes, the Council of the Common-
 wealth, the L. Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of
 London, in their scarlet Gowns, and many of the
 chief Officers of the Army. A Chair of State being
 set, the Protector stood on the left hand thereof un-
 covered; till the Instrument was read, which he sub-
 scribed in the face of the Court, and then swore to
 perform as follows:

' I promise, in the presence of God, not to violate
 ' or infringe the matters and things contained in the
 ' Instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to
 ' be observed, and in all things to the best of my un-
 ' derstanding, will govern these Nations according to
 ' the Laws, Statutes, and Customs, and to seek their
 ' peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally
 ' administred.

Hereupon he sat down covered in the Chair, the
 Lords Commissioners then delivered him the Great
 Seal of England, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and
 Cap of maintenance, which he instantly returned:
 Then the Court rose, and the Protector was attended

back

back as before, to the Banqueting House at White-Hall, the Lord Mayor bare headed carrying the Sword before him, where an exhortation being made by Mr. Nicholas Lockier, one of his Chaplains, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed. And thus was the Protector confirmed in this high Dignity, tho' many of his Officers, and former admirers, were much discontented thereat, but to command obedience, the Council emitted the following Proclamation: which was published in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Whereas the late Parliament dissolved themselves and resigned their powers and Authorities, the Government by a Lord Protector, and successive elective Parliaments is now established: And whereas Oliver Cromwel, Captain General of all the Forces of this Common-wealth, is declared Lord protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof, We have therefore thought it necessary, as we hereby do, to make publication of the premisses, and strictly to charge and command all and every person and persons, of what quality and condition soever, in any of the said three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and subject themselves to the Government so established: And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this proclamation, to the end that none may have cause to pretend Ignorance in this behalf.

The Protector began his reign with seeming serenity, and when the different parties in Religion made their complaints to him against each other, he usually told them, : That his power was no greater in the Nation than a Constables, which was to keep peace and quietness among all parties. And pursuant to the power given him by the new Instrument, he supplies the several Courts at Westminster with the ablest Judges and Lawyers; and the City of London, to shew their concurrence to this great change, invite the Protector to Dinner at Grocers-Hall, Feb. 8. being

Ashwednesday, the Streets were railed to Temple-bar, the Livery-men standing in their Gowns ; he was met at Temple-bar by Alder-man Vyner Lord Mayor, who delivered him the sword, and receiving it again, bore it on Horse-back bare-headed before him all the way. After a Noble entertainment, he was served with a Banquet ; in the conclusion whereof, he Knighted Sir Tho Vyner, and would have done the same to the Recorder Steel, but he declined it.

The Hollanders being weary of the Wars which they had maintained with such little success, and so great cost, send commissioners to treat with the protector for a peace between both Nations, which at length was concluded both with the King of Denmark and the Dutch, who were to pay the charge of the War, money being very necessary in his new Government ; and in April following it was proclaimed with great solemnity in London, the two Dutch Ambassadors making magnificent Treatments and Fire-works to demonstrate their satisfaction therein.

The Protector now sends his eldest Son Henry into Ireland, of which he was made Lord Deputy soon after, and General Monk was sent into Scotland : Likewise the Lord Whitlock, who was sent Ambassador, by the last parliament, to the Q. of Sweden, had now a new Commission sent him from the Lord protector, in whose Name he continued the Treaty with that Crown, and afterward finished it. In March following, Monsieur Bordeaux was sent Ambassador to England from the French King, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Coll. Sydenham, and Mr. Strickland, were appointed Commissioners by the protector to treat with him, so that he was owned abroad as well as at home, King Charles was then in the French Court, who finding, that notwithstanding his own and his Mothers endeavours to the contrary, the Treaty between France and England was vigorously prosecuted by Cardinal Mazarine, and foreseeing that if the
peace

peace were concluded, he and his party must be obliged to depart France, he thought it more Honourable voluntarily to leave that Kingdom than to stay till he were forced out by a complement ; so the King, with his Brother the Duke of York, and his Cousins Prince Rupert and Edward; retired to Chartillon, a House of the Prince of Condes, from whence soon after, the King and Prince Rupert went into Germany, and indeed it happened as they suspected, for one of the Articles of the French King with the Protector was, That none of the Royal Family of England should reside in the Dominions of France.

In Feb. 1654, several persons were committed to the Tower, about a conspiracy against the protector, the chief whereof Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Coll. John Gerrard his Brother, the E. of Oxford, Mr. Philip Porter, Mr. Vowell a School-master at Iffington, and in June following, an High Court of Justice being erected, they were brought before them, and charged to design the Assassination of the Lord protector, and thereupon Coll. Gerrard, and Mr. Vowell, were sentenced to be hanged, which was accordingly executed upon Mr. Vowell at Charing-cross, and Coll. Gerrard was beheaded at Tower-Hill, who expressly denied the intention of the fact. With him, upon the same Scaffold, but not upon the like account, suffered at that time Don Pantalion Sa, brother to the Portugal Ambassador then Resident in England, who upon conceit that he had received some affront upon the New-Exchange in the Strand, came thither one evening with a crew of idle fellows, Lacquies and Servants to himself and his brother, armed with pistols, swords, and Hand-Granadoes, and firing a pistol, killed one Mr. Greenway standing quietly at a Stall, and had done further mischief, if this Coll. Gerrard had not stop'd their fury, and with his sword drawn driven them all down stairs ; upon hearing the matter, the Protector resolved the murderers should suffer with-

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out respect of persons, and it appearing, that though the person who committed the murder was a Knight of Malta, and had made his escape, yet that this Nobleman and the rest were accessaries, he and four more of the Ambassadors were tryed and found guilty, with an Irish youth : Don Pantalion was beheaded with Coll. Gerrard, the Irish boy was hanged at Tyburn and the other four pardoned ; and peace being soon after concluded with the K. of Portugal, the Ambassador sorrowfully departed.

In the same month a ship fell accidentally on fire on Southwark side, as she lay at Anchor, which being cut away, the ship was driven by the flowing tyde upon a shelf near the bridge, where she stuck, and blew up her powder ; there were eight persons killed, one a Draper upon his Leads by a plank of the Ship, and had the blow been any higher, it might have endangered the bridge it self.

The Lord Protector, in pursuance of the late Instrument, resolved now to call a parliament, and Writs were sent out for their meeting, Sept. 3. 1654. at Westminster : Being assembled accordingly, the Protector went by Water from White-Hall to the Parliament-House, and sending for the Members into the Painted-Chamber, he desired their company to hear a Sermon at the Abby-Church the next day, and afterwards he would impart his mind to them. About Nine next morning, His Highness rode in his Coach to Church, with whom sat his Son Henry, and the Lord Lambert : The Pages went before, and his Gentlemen in rich Liveries marched bare headed : On one side of the Coach walked Mr. Strickland, one of the Council, and Captain of the Guards, together with the master of the Ceremonies : On the other side was Capt. Howard Capt. of the Life-Guard : These were followed by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and the Privy-Council, in their Coaches, and in the rear came

came the protectors Ordinary Guard. As he entered the Church, four maces, the purse, and a Sword born by the Lord Lambert, were carried before him : Dr. Tho. Goodwin preached the Sermon, which being ended, the Protector and the Parliament went to the painted chamber, where there was an appearance of a number of grave judicious persons, to whom the Protector spake to this effect :

‘ Gentlemen, The Parliament that are here met this day, are such a congregation of wise, prudent, and discreet persons that England hath never scarce seen the like, and few could have thought of such a door of hope not many years ago, and therefore it would have been very necessary and worthy such an Assembly to give a relation of the series of Gods providences all along to these very times, but that being very well known to most of you, I shall at present omit it, and proceed to declare to you in what condition these Nations were when the present Government was erected : It was apparent that every mans heart was against another, and every mans interest divided against each other, and we had then such different humours, that every thing almost was grown arbitrary. There was also grown up a general contempt of God and Christ, and the grace of God was turned into wantonness, and his spirit made a cloak for all manner of wickedness and profaneness : Nay, the Ax was laid to the root of the ministry, and the fifth monarchy was highly cry’d up by persons who would assume the Government, but that desired thing wants greater manifestation than has yet appeared, before men ought to change the Authority to make way for it. While these things were in the midst of us, and nothing but confusion in the hearts and minds of some men, swarms of popish Priests and Jesuites daily arrived here, to raise and foment divisions against the peace and quiet of the Nation : And at the same time the Nation

‘ was

' was likewise ingaged in a deep War with Portugal,
 ' Holland and France, so that we were in a heap of
 ' confusion, and it was absolutely necessary that a
 ' speedy remedy should be applied thereto, and this
 ' has been in a great measure done since the settling
 ' of this Government, which is clearly calculate d for
 ' the peoples Interest, let malignant spirits say what
 ' they will, and therefore with humbleness toward
 ' God, and modesty towards you, I will recount
 ' something in the behalf of this Government. For,
 ' first, It hath endeavoured to reform the Law : It
 ' hath put into the seats of Justice men of known In-
 ' tegrity and Justice : It hath settled a way for trial
 ' and probation of ministers to preach the Gospel :
 ' And besides all this, It hath called a Free parlia-
 ' ment ; blessed be God that this day you see a Free
 ' parliament. As for the Wars, a peace is made with
 ' Sweden, Denmark, the Dutch and Portugal, and
 ' one likewise very near concluding with France; yet
 ' these things are only enterances, and an open door
 ' of hope. But now, Gentlemen, I make no questi-
 ' on to inable you to lay the top stone of this work,
 ' and I shall recommend this maxim to your confi-
 ' deration, That peace, though it be made, is not to
 ' be trusted farther than it consists with Interest ;
 ' and one great work that at present lies before this
 ' Honourable Assembly, is, That the Government of
 ' Ireland may be settled in terms of Honour, and that
 ' you would avoid conclusions, lest Foreign States
 ' should take advantage by them. And as for my
 ' self, I assure you, I do not speak as one that would
 ' Lord it over you, but as one that would be a fellow
 ' servant to you in this great affair; and so to conclude,
 ' I desire you to repair to your House, and use your
 ' liberty in choosing a Speaker.

The protector having concluded his Speech, the
 members immediately repair to their House, and
 there choole William Lenthall; Esq; ; master of the
 Rolls,

Rolls to be their Speaker; after which, they begin upon the Instrument of Government, and the question is in the first place proposed, Whether the Legislative power should be in a single person or a parliament. Those of the protectors party endeavour by all means possible to perswade them, That it should be no question, but be absolutely carried in the affirmative. This was as vigorously opposed by the majority of the House, and among the rest, a Gentleman who had all along strongly opposed Monarchy as disagreeable to his Interest, stood up and said, ' The parliament cannot but discern the snares that are laid to intrap the priviledges of the people, and for my own part, as God hath made me Instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one person, so now I cannot endure to see the Nations liberties shackled by another, whose Right to the Government can be measured out no otherwise than by the length of his Sword, which was the only thing that emboldened him to command his commanders. Many others seconded this motion, confirming what he had said, and directly against a single person.

These debates and divisions upon the protectors Instrument, which continued eight days successively, did much disturb him, fearing they would produce irreconcilable differences, and therefore to remedy it in time, and put the parliament into a milder temper, he goes from White-Hall to Westminster, and sending for the members then sitting into the painted chamber, he thus addresses them :

' Gentlemen, The God of Heaven knows what grief and sorrow of heart it is to me to find you falling into heats and divisions, but I would have you take notice of this, That the same Government made me protector which made you a parliament, and that as you are intrusted with some things, so am I with others, and that in the Government there are certain Fundamentals which cannot be altered, As

' 1. That the Government should be in a single per-
 ' son and a parliament : 2. That parliaments should
 ' not be perpetual : Thirdly the militia should not be
 ' trusted into one hand or power, but so that the
 ' parliament should have a check upon the protector,
 ' and the protector on the parliament : 4. That in
 ' matters of Religion there ought to be Liberty of
 ' Conscience, and that persecution in the Church
 ' was not to be Tolerated. The rest of the things in
 ' the Government are examinable and alterable as the
 ' state of affairs do require, and for my own part, my
 ' heart is even over-whelmed with grief, to see that
 ' any of you should endeavour to overthrow what is
 ' settled, contrary to the Trust received from the
 ' people, and which cannot but bring very great in-
 ' conveniency upon your selves and the Nation.

This was the substance of his persuasions, but
 doubting that this would not sufficiently bring them
 over to his Interests, he contrived a Recognition and
 acknowledgment, which was to be signed by every
 member before he should be admitted to sit in the
 House, as followeth :

' I do hereby promise and ingage to be true and
 ' faithful to the Lord Protector of the Common-
 ' wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and shall
 ' not (according to the tenor of the Indenture where-
 ' by I am returned to serve in parliament) propose
 ' or give any consent to alter the Government as it is
 ' settled in one person and a parliament.

This was subscribed by several of the members, tho'
 the greater number at first refused, especially those of
 the late long parliament, so that of 400 there appear-
 ed only 200, but afterward were made up 300,
 who fell afresh upon the same disputes, and run over
 all the Articles of the Instrument of Government,
 resolving to have the Judgment of the whole House
 upon them in one entire Bill, and so present it, there-
 by to waste time, and hinder the Protector from ha-
 ving

ving money which he much wanted, so that after five months dilatory proceedings, and that they had not yet settled him in the Government, the time being expired wherein the Instrument gave him leave, without losing one day, nay scarce an hour, he dissolved the parliament.

This dissolution encouraged the most opposite parties to conspire against the Protector, that is, the fifth Monarchy men and Royalists, the first expected King Jesus, or the erecting of a fifth Kingdom, the second longed for the Restoration of King Charles, and the Protectors Favourites desired King Oliver, and every party manifested their impatience, but none of them could attain their wishes, and when Oliver might afterwards, yet he thought it not safe. The protector was not ignorant of their designs, and resolved first to deal with the weakest, for finding this Millionary principle spread in the Army, he discarded Major General Harrison and coll. Rich, and after sent them, with coll. Carew, and Courtney, Prisoners to remote Castles, and General Monk had order to seize Major General Overton, and Major Bramston, Holmes, and other Officers, and cashier them. Overton was sent up prisoner to the Tower, and his Regiment given to coll. Morgan, coll. Okeys Regiment was given to the Lord Howard; Cornet now collonel Joyce, was likewise dismissed, having reproach'd Cromwel to his face with his services. And thus the danger from the Army was quickly suppress'd.

But the design of the Royalists, or Cavaliers, would have been more formidable, had not the whole contrivance thereof been discovered to the Protector by one Manning, who was with King Charles in Germany, and a Spy upon all his actions; so that Cromwel knew the rise and progress, and first appearance of those Arms against him, without being surprized, though

though all the Gentlemen of that party in England were one way or other ingaged, or at least privy to it; but the seizing the principal of them throughout the Kingdom, a little before the execution, much frustrated the probable effects of that Insurrection. The L. Mayor was sent for and acquainted with it, and the militia settled, Skippon being made Major-General: All Horse Races forbidden, and several dissolute persons were seized upon suspicion: Counter plots were used, all sorts of Ammunition being sent down to several Gentlemens Houses, with Letters without Names, and the Gentlemen for not discovering them secured. Yet notwithstanding all these discouragements, the Western Association thought themselves ingaged in honour to rise upon the day appointed, and which they had signified to K. Charles, who was come from Colen to the Sea coasts, in order to have passed over to his friends with the first opportunity; accordingly, March 11. 1654. a party of 200 under Sir Joseph Wagstaff, Coll. Penruddock and Grove, march'd into Salisbury, where the Judges, Rolls and Nichols, were sitting at the Assize, and seized all their Horses, declaring the cause of their appearance without further injury, or taking any money, which lay in Serjeant Maynards and other Lawyers chambers, promising to return and break their fasts with the Judges provisions which they did, and increased their number to four hundred, the whole City being well affected to them. Thence they marched to Blandford, where coll. Penruddock himself proclaimed the King in the Market-place, and so marched Westward, Captain Butler, with two Troops of Cromwells Horse, following at a distance in their Rere, to give them opportunity of increasing, but by the Protectors taking up so many before, very few came in, and many deserted when they saw no hopes of the number of four thousand which was promised and expected.

Coll. Penruddock finding his affairs desperate, resolved

solved to try Devonshire and Cornwall, and in this condition about 100 of the most resolute, without staying any where, came hungry, sleepy and weary, to Southmolton in Devonshire, hoping at worst to get away by Sea, but that Night their Quarters were beaten up by Capt. Crook about ten a clock, and some Houses forced, but Coll. Penruddock maintained his Quarters till he had Artticed with the Captain, and then surrendered himself; with him were taken coll. Jones a Kinsman of Cromwels, coll. Grove, and sixty other prisoners, with 120 Horse, but Sir Joseph Wagstaff, Mr. Robert Mason Esq; Clark, and Mr. Tho. Mompeyson, escaped beyond Sea, and so this rising was quickly suppressed. There were some appearances of the like at Rustord-Abby in Nottinghamshire, at Hefsummoor in Yorkshire, and in the Counties of Montgomery and Cumberland, for which some few were executed; but those weak Efforts, with some others, came to nothing, and the Kings Restoration which was mightily expected at this time, proved unsuccessful. After which, the King discovered the Treachery of Manning to him upon this occasion; Some Gentlemen going for England, came to take leave of the King at Colen, to whom the King wished a good Journey, and prosperity to their Design; when they arrived in England, they were seized, and examined before the protectors Council whether they did not speak with the King such a Day, repeating what past between them. Advice hereof being sent the King, he recollected that none but coll. Tuke and this Manning, who held the candle, were present at this passage: He declared the whole matter to the collonel, who much surprized protested his innocency, and by the Kings command went directly to Mannings chamber, and not staying opening the door forced it, and found him chewing of papers, and a packet by him newly come from Thurloe the Protectors Secretary; at which, Manning was so much astonish'd, he could not speak a word. His Father

ther was kill'd in the Kings service, and himself had been Secretary to the E. of Pembroke, and upon that account was intrusted with the Kings secrets. At the instance of the whole Court, the King ordered him to be shor to death in one of the Castles of the Duke of Newburg. The Protector had drawn 4000 foot from Ireland, and 600 Horse from Scotland, but upon quelling this Rising, they were remanded. Coll. Penruddock, and coll. Grove, were beheaded, and seven others were hanged at Exeter.

The Protector had a great while been preparing a mighty Fleet, with all necessary provisions, for some notable Enterprize, and every one fearing their own States, could not guess whicher this design tended. At length, those vast preparations produced two mighty Fleets, one under the command of General Blake, which was fitted only for the Sea, and sent to the Streights; the other, about two months after, was committed to the charge of Gen. Pen, who was to take aboard him an Army under General Venables. These Land forces being about 3000, were divided into the several Ships, which were thirty sail of men of War, but had not necessary provisions for so great an Army, the Commanders not knowing whicher, nor how far they were to go.

Dec, 19. 1654. This Fleet set sail from Portsmouth directly to the Barbadoes, where the Generals had order to break open their Commissions; this being the appointed place of Rendezvous, whither having a fair wind, they arrived Jan. 29. following, and landed all their men in Carlisle-Bay.

The sudden departure of these two great Fleets, caused the King of Spain, who doubted they were designed against him, to send the Marqueis de Leda, Governor of Dunkirk, into England as Extraordinary Ambassador, to penetrate into this grand Court secret, but having spent several days after his arrival, without receiving that satisfaction he desired, he returned back again.

Whilst

Whilst the Fleet was at Barbadoes, the Officers were very diligent in their charges, and caused the hallops which they had brought from England ready framed, to be set up, and the water Casks to be trimmed: Two Frigates are sent to St. Christophers and Levis, to raise men to compleat their Regiments, and form Regiments out of the Seamen to serve upon occasion. At length, they ship'd 6000 men, and a Troop of Horse raised by the Barbadians at their own charge, and sailing thence, March 31. 1655. in six days arrived at St. Christophers, where they had a recruit of 1300 Voluntiers, most servants to the planters, who willingly ingaged, because during the time their service went on, and they might afterward be free as their masters, so that though the Fleet was strengthened by seizing twenty Dutch ships, trading where contrary to Articles, yet they were all full, though there were scarce provisions for half the number, if by accident should happen. From hence they steered directly for Hispaniola, and April 13. 1655. came in sight of St. Domingo, the principal Town, and against which they chiefly designed. A Council of War being called, it was unanimously concluded, that General Venables should land with his Forces; and accordingly, next day he sent ashore seven thousand Foot, a Troop of Horse, and three days provision, about ten or twelve Leagues Westward of the Town; the Souldiers were even ravished with the hopes of the mountains of Gold they should obtain, which seemed to put universal courage through the whole Army, so that there appeared a certainty of victory. But the General, whether by order, or to gross all to himself, soon quelled their expectations by making proclamation, That upon the taking of Domingo, no man should presume to plunder their money, plate, or Jewels, or to take or kill any tame Cattel whatsoever, upon pain of death.

This

This it was judged defeated the whole design, the Souldiers being unwilling to endanger themselves when there was no prospect of advantage; howsoever they were obliged to march forward, tho' with much difficulty, passing through such thick Woods that they were forced to cut their way, and could not find a drop of fresh water, so that with the drought caused by the excessive heat of the Sun, which even pierced their Brains, and their discontent of mind, (for sorrow is dry) most of them were faint and disabled.

Having in two days got through the Woods, without opposition from the Spaniards, they at length joined coll. Bullards Brigade, consisting of three Regiments of foot, whom Admiral Pen had landed on the side of the Bay, about two Leagues from the Town, near a River of fresh water, being the appointed rendezvous of the whole body, which now consisted in nine or ten thousand men, but most of them so weak as hardly able to go, much less to fight, yet being joined they marched on, nor doubting but to take the Town quickly. A Forlorn Hope of 500 men, under Capt. Cox, the chief guide to this place, advanced first after whom followed the whole Army; being within four miles of the Town, a small party of Horse suddenly encounter the Forlorn Hope, and in an instant routed them, forcing them through the next Regiment, which they likewise put to flight, and had slain most of them, but that the whole Army came up to their relief. After which the Spaniards marched back to their Fort in good order, and with little loss, but near fifty English were slain, besides Captain Cox their Guide.

The General hereupon retreats to the River to refresh his men with water, which caused their weakness, resolving once more to attempt carrying the Town, causing Scaling ladders to be made, and two small Drakes, with a Mortar-piece to be landed from the Fleet, and conveyed by water near the Town.

All things prepared, they march forward, some guides undertaking to carry them a private way out of danger of the Fort, but missing it, they fell into the same path, and into worse mischief than before, for the Spaniards having notice of their march by the Negroes and Mulattoes, resolved to entertain them in their passage, and April 25. the whole Army approaching near a brick Fort built by the Spaniards, having nine good Canon, and 300 men, they were suddenly charged by a party hid among the Trees, who though not above seventy, First fired a Volley of shot upon the Forlorn, and then flew in upon the English, already weary, and near choak'd with thirst, and with their Steel Lances routed, in a moment, both them and the Generals Regiment, with near half the Army, who flying back into the Rear, possessed them with such a pannick fear, that every one shifted for himself, the Spaniards pursuing with great slaughter, finding no resistance but from M. Gen. Haines, who sold his life at a dear rate, Fighting in the midst of his Enemies; at length the Spaniards weary of killing, retreated with seven English Colours. Of the English 300 were slain on the place, 300 wounded, and 200 fled into the Woods to save themselves, and were there mock'd on the head by the Mulatto's and Negro's.

Upon this disaster, the Army that Night drew up to the Spanish Fort, and planted a Mortar convenient, against it, all things being in readiness for a battery when on a sudden the Army was commanded to draw off, and without doing any damage, marched to their watering place the Bay, where being arrived, and wanting Victuals, they were forced to go out in parties to fetch it, some never returning, being kill'd by the Negroes, till at last they were forced, by famine, to eat the Horses of their own Troop. In this miserable state they continued some days, at length it was resolved, that May 3 they should all go a board, and ten days they arrived in the chief Port of Jamaica, called

called Oristano, where they had better success, soon possessing the Town, and then the Army began to take up their Habitations, and to plant. This was the first planting of this gallant Island by the English, which has since grown so rich and populous, and of so great advantage to this Kingdom, and they gained it the more easily, because at their landing it was resolved by a Council of War, that if any man turned his back to the enemy, his bringer up should kill him: And the Spaniards having no Intelligence of their late overthrow at Hispaniola, nor indeed suspecting any Hostility, fled away at the approach of this formidable Army, and withdrew their Goods into the Woods, by a pretended Treaty with the English, whither parties were sent to follow them, and to kill Cattel for the Army, of which they found store of very good, without fighting, to their great relief. Soon after, the Generals Pen and Venables arrived in England, and the Protector in reward of their Services, committed them both prisoners to the Tower.

A little to alleviate this misfortune. Gen. Blake, about this time, being sent to the Streights with a gallant Fleet, to scour the Seas of Turkish pyrates, who had taken and destroyed many English Ships, and enslaved their persons; he first seeks them out at Sea, but not finding them, resolves to go home to them, and March 10. 1655. arrives at Algiers, and Anchored without the mold, sending a messenger to demand satisfaction of the Dey, for the depredations committed on the English, and required the delivery of the Captives of our Nation immediately. The Dey having provided a large present of Beef and Mutton, and other fresh provisions alive, returns the messenger with them, and this answer to the General, ' That the ships and Captives already taken ' belonged to particular men, and therefore it lay ' not in his power to restore them without the Gene- ' ral discontent of all his subjects; yet as for the ' English

English Captives that were there, if he pleased to redeem them he should, and he would set a reasonable and indifferent price upon their heads, and that if the General thought good, they would conclude a peace with him, and for the future offer no Acts of Hostility on their part, to any of the English Ships or Natives. This answer seemed satisfactory to the General, and accordingly the captives were redeemed, and a peace concluded.

Having thus dispatch'd the affair of Algiers, General Blake sails next to Tunis, where sending a summons to the Dey, he received a very disobliging answer; for having secured their ships, as they imagined, under their Castles, they in scorn and contempt sent him word, ' Here are the Castles of Goletta, and our Ships and Castles of Porto Ferino, do your worst, but do not think that we are affrighted at the sight of your Fleet. This resolute reply exasperated both the General and Seamen, who resolved to be revenged, and a Council of War being called, it was resolved to burn the nine ships that were in Porto Ferino, which they accordingly effected; for every ships Boat being manned with stout and resolute Mariners, were sent into the Harbour to assault and fire the ships, whilst the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rere-Admiral, play broad-sides continually on the Castle, to prevent their sinking the boats, who after a brave assault, burnt the ships, and return back again only with the loss of 25 men, and 48 wounded. This daring action of General Blake, resounded to the honour of the English Nation, as far as the Grand Signiors Court at Constantinople.

But to digress a little, about this time Christiana, Queen of Sweden, to the admiration of all Europe, resigned up the Crown and Kingdom to her Kinsman Carolus Gustavus, being contented, from a mighty Princess, to put her self into the condition of a Lady Errant, desiring only these conditions might be gran-

ed her from her successor : ‘ 1. That she retain a good
 ‘ part of her Kingdom, and the customs, to her self,
 ‘ 2. That she will be no subject, but absolutely free
 ‘ without controul. 3. That she will Travel whether
 ‘ she pleaseth. To these Prince Charles made this
 reply : 1. ‘ That he would not be a King without a
 ‘ Kingdom. 2. That he will have no Rival nor Super-
 ‘ rior. 3. That he will not hazard himself about her
 ‘ designs abroad. However, these differences were
 so accommodated, that soon after she resigned her
 Kingdom, leaving to her self only the bear Title of
 Queen, but to him both the Title of King and possession
 of a Kingdom. With this new King the Lord
 Whitlock, who had been some time Ambassador there,
 soon concluded a firm League Offensive and Defensive
 between these two Nations, the effects whereof had
 soon appeared in Christendom, had Cromwel lived
 much longer than he did.

The horrible Massacre committed at this time upon
 the Protestants in Piedmont and Savoy, by the Forces
 of that Duke, under the Marquess of Parella, occa-
 sioned the protector to appoint a publick Fast, and
 great sums of money were gathered in England, and
 remitted to Sir Samuel Morland for their relief.

And now the Lord protector, to secure himself
 from Insurrections, constitutes new kind of Officers,
 called Major Generals of Counties, dividing the King-
 dom into eleven parts ; the Names of whom are these:
 For Kent and Surrey coll. Kelsey ; for Suffex, Ham-
 shire, and Berkshire, coll. Goff ; for Wilts, Gloucester
 Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall coll. Desborow ;
 for Oxford-shire, Bucks, Hartford, Cambridge, Isle of
 Ely, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, Lt. Gen. Fleetwood ;
 for the City of London M. Gen. Skippon ; for Lincoln,
 Nottingham, Derby, Warwick and Leicester-shire,
 Commissary Gen. Whaley ; for Northampton, Bedford,
 Rutland and Huntingdon, Maj. Butler ; for Worcester,
 Hereford, Salcp and North Wales, coll. Berry ; for
 Cheshire,

Cheshire, Stafford and Lancashire, coll. Wortley; for Durham, Cumberland, York, Westmoreland and Northumberland, Lord Lambert; for Westminster and Middlesex, coll. Barkstead Lieutenant of the Tower. The greatest service they did was to oblige Delinquents to pay in the Tenth of their Estates for old offences, and influence Elections of Parliament men, but in a short time he dismiss'd them again.

Another design of the protectors was the admission of the Jews into England, for which it was said they offered 200 000 £. whereupon he proposes it to several Judges and Ministers for their approbation; many arguments were used for and against it, and several places of Scripture cited, and divers conferences held about it, with Dr. Manton, Mr. Jenkyns and others, who yet were not satisfied with the arguments of Manasseh Ben Israel the Jewish Agent, though the Protector alledged, ' That since there was a promise for ' their conversion, means must be used to that end, ' which is the preaching of the Gospel, and that can- ' not be had unless they be permitted to reside where ' the Gospel is preached; but no conclusion, the public re-admission of them was laid aside, as a thing decried both by the Clergy and Laity.

The Spaniards having certain Intelligence of the attempt and repulse of the English at Hispaniola, and their possession of Jamaica, thought this a sufficient breach of the peace, though there was never any peace made with that King beyond the Line, he always taking all English ships he could meet with and master that Traded there; and hereupon, he makes a seizure of all the Merchants persons and Goods then in Spain, so that the War begins to grow hot both in the old and new World. The protector thereupon, orders the Generals Blake and Montague, to block up Cadiz, the chief Port Town of that Kingdom, and whither the Plate Fleet used yearly to come. He likewise concludes a peace with France (which was at Wars with

ed her from her successor : 1. That she retain a good part of her Kingdom, and the customs, to her self. 2. That she will be no subject, but absolutely free without controul. 3. That she will Travel whether she please. To these Prince Charles made this reply : 1. That he would not be a King without a Kingdom. 2. That he will have no Rival nor Superior. 3. That he will not hazard himself about her designs abroad. However, these differences were so accommodated, that soon after she resigned her Kingdom, leaving to her self only the bare Title of Queen, but to him both the Title of King and possession of a Kingdom. With this new King the Lord Whitlock, who had been some time Ambassador there, soon concluded a firm League Offensive and Defensive between these two Nations, the effects whereof had soon appeared in Christendom, had Cromwel lived much longer than he did.

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The Spaniards having certain Intelligence of the attempt and repulse of the English at Hispaniola, and their possession of Jamaica, thought this a sufficient breach of the peace, though there was never any peace made with that King beyond the Line, he always taking all English ships he could meet with and master that Traded there; and hereupon, he makes a seizure of all the Merchants persons and Goods then in Spain, so that the War begins to grow hot both in the old and new World. The protector thereupon, orders the Generals Blake and Montague, to block up Cadiz, the chief Port Town of that Kingdom, and whither the Plate Fleet used yearly to come. He likewise concludes a peace with France (which was at Wars with

Spain along time) by the Interest of Cardinal Mazarine, the French King (as you have heard) banishing all the Royal Family of England (except the Queen mother) out of his Dominions, at the desire of Cromwel, and by the Instigation of that Cardinal.

The English Fleet under Montague and Blake, had for some months, in a manner, besieged Cadiz by Sea, but could by no provocation oblige the Spaniard to fight them, who hoping that the English having suffered the fatigues of the Sea, would be forced to depart for want of provisions, thought it better policy to lose a little honour, rather than to venture either men or ships, against those who had maintained such terrible Sea fights against the Hollanders; but the English found in Vveyers Bay in Portugal, a convenient supply of water and provisions, which was much nearer than the Spaniards imagined. Hither were the Generals gone for fresh water and provisions, having only left a Squadron of 7 ships under Capt. Stainer, before the port of Cadiz, to observe all ships passing in or out; as they were thus plying for some days, it happened that a stiff gale of wind forced Capt. Stainer to stand out to Sea, where he espied part of the K. of Spains Plate Fleet coming from the VWest-Indies, and making directly for Cadiz, he was somewhat to the Leeward, but made up toward them with all the sail they could possible, and after some hours with much labour, the Captain in the *Speaker*, with the *Bridgwater* and *Plymouth* Frigates, got up to them, the other four ships not being able to come up, and presently ingaged them; the Spanish Fleet consisted in 8 tall ships or Galleons, yet in a short time they were wholly spoil'd, one was sunk, three burnt, two ran ashore and were bulged, one escaped, and two fell into the hands of the English, one whereof had a great quantity of Plate and Cockewal in her, the other were chiefly laden with Hydes. In these ships, many persons of Quality were taken, and among others the two Sons of the Marquess of

of Badajox, who had been Governour of Peruand, having gained a great Estate in New-England, was now returning to live the remainder of his days in his own country ; he, and his VVife and Daughter, were burnt in one of the ships, of which, and the VVar with Spain, with the present Victory, hear what the Poet Laureat of that Age elegantly sings :

Now for some Ages had the pride of Spain.
Made the Sun shine on half the VVorld in vain,
VVhilst she bid VVar to all that durst supply
The place of those her cruelty made dye.
Of Natures bounty men forbore to taste ;
And the best portion of the Earth lay waste ;
From the New VVorld, her Silver and her Gold,
Came like a Tempest to contound the Old,
Feeding with these the brib'd Electors hopes,
Alone she gave us Emperors and Popes :
VVith these advancing her unjust designs,
Europe was shaken with her Indian Mines.

VVhen our Protector, looking with disdain,
Upon this gilded Majesty of Spain,
And knowing well that Empire must decline,
VVhose chief Support and Sinews are of Coin,
Our Nations solid Virtue did oppose,
To the rich Troublers of the VVorlds repose.
And now some months Incamping on the Main,
Our Naval Army had besieged Spain ;
They that the whole VVorlds Monarchy design'd,
Are to their Ports by our bold Fleet confin'd,
From whence our Red-cross they triumphant see,
Riding without a Rival on the Sea.
Others may use the Ocean as their Road,
The English only make it their abroad,
VVhose ready sails with every wind can fly.
And make a Covenant with the unconstant Sky.
Our Oaks secure as if they there took root ;
VVe tread on Billows with a steady foot :

Lords of the Worlds great waste, the Ocean we
 Whole Forrests send to reign upon the Sea,
 And every Coast may trouble or relieve,
 But none can visit us without our leave :
 Angels and we have this Prerogative,
 That none can at our happy seat arrive,
 While we descend at pleasure to invade
 The Bad with Vengeance, and the good to Aid.

Mean while the Spaniards in America,
 Near to the Line the Sun approaching saw,
 And hoped their European coasts to find,
 Cleer'd from our Ships by the Autumnal wind.
 Their huge capacious Gallions fluff'd with Plate,
 The labouring winds drive slowly to their fate.
 Before Sr. Lucar they their Guns discharge,
 To shew their Joy, or to invite a Barge:
 This heard some ships of ours (though out of view)
 As swift as Eagles to the Quarry flew.
 So harmless Lambs, that for their Mother bleat,
 Wake hungry Lyons, and become their meat.

Arriv'd, they soon begin their Tragick play,
 And with their smoaky Cannon banish day ;
 Night, horror, slaughter, with confusion meets,
 And in their sable arms imbrace their Fleets :
 Through yeilding planks their angry Bullets fly,
 And of one wound hundreds together dye :
 Born under different Stars one fate they have,
 The Ship their Coffin, and the Sea their Grave.
 Bold were the men, that on the Ocean first,
 Spread their new Sails, when shipwrack was the worst.
 More danger now from men alone we find
 Than from the Rocks, the Billows and the Wind.

They that had sail'd from near th' Antartick Pole,
 Their Treasure safe, and all their Vessels whole,
 In sight of their dear country ruin'd be,
 Without the guilt of either Rock or Sea :
 What they Would save our fiercer art destroys,
 Surpassing storms in terror and in noise.

Once Jove from Ida did both Hosts survey,
 And when he pleas'd to Thunder part the fray.
 Here Heav'n, in vain, that kind retreat would sound,
 The louder cannon had the thunder drown'd.
 Some were made prize, while others burnt and rent,
 With their rich lading to the bottom went ;
 Down sinks at once : So Fortune with us sports,
 The pay of Armies, and the Pride of Courts.
 Vain man, whose rage buries as low that store
 As Avarice had digg'd for it before,
 What Earth in her dark bowels could not keep
 From greedy hands, lies safer in the Deep,
 Where There is kindly doth from mortals hide ;
 Those seeds from Luxury, debate, and pride.

And now, into our hands, the richest prize
 Falls with the noblest of our enemies ;
 The Marquess, glad to see the fire destroy
 Wealth the prevailing Foe were to enjoy,
 Out from his flaming ship his children sent,
 To perish in a milder Element,
 Then laid him by his burning Ladies side,
 And since he could not save her, with her dy'd :
 Spices and Gums about them melting fry,
 And Phoenix like, in that rich Nest they dye ;
 Alive in flames of equal love they burn'd,
 And now together into Ashes turn'd,
 Ashes more worth than all their Funeral cost,
 Than the huge Treasure which with them was lost.

These dying Lovers, and their floating Sons,
 Suspend the Fight, and silence all our Guns.
 Beauty and Youth, about to perish, finds
 Such noble pity in brave English minds,
 That they the spoil neglecting, and the prize,
 All labour now to save their Enemies.

How frail's our passion ? How soon changed are
 Our wrath and fury to a friendly care
 They that but now for honour and for plate,
 Made the Sea blush with blood, forget their hate ;

And while their Foes from perishing they retrieve,
With greater danger than they fought they dive.

With these returns Victorious Montague,
With Lawrel in his hands, and half Peru :
Let our brave Generals divide that bough,

Our great Protector hath such wreaths enow ;
His conquering Head hath no more room for Bay :
Then let it be as the whole Nation prays,
With purple cloth'd and Ermine ; let him hold,
A Royal Scepter made of Spanish Gold.

The Protector was highly pleas'd at this success and great booty, and a particular day of Thanksgiving was appointed by him for it ; and soon after, Gen. Montague, with the young Marquess, and part of the Fleet to convoy the silver, which amounted to two millions of pieces of Eight, returned into England, and delivered the Bullion into the Mint, and the young Marquess and his Brother were set at liberty. But the Spanish War being like to prove chargeable, notwithstanding this present supply, the protector being still necessitated for money, and desiring to have his power confirmed to him by the people, in hope the new Representative might grant him what the former denied, he issues out Writs for the Election of a new parliament, wherein much circumspection was used, if possible, to prevent some of the former House from being chosen.

Sept. 17. 1656. This parliament met at Westminster, and had a Sermon preached before them at the Abbey Church, by Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ Church, upon those words in Isaiah, ' What shall one ' then answer to the messengers of the Land ? That ' the Lord hath founded Sion, and the poor of his people shall rejoyce. After Sermon, the members went to the House, but found at the door a Guard, and an Officer standing with a List in his hand, demanding the Names of every one of them, and such as were marked

ed for non-admittance were turned back, and a promise imposed upon every individual member before he should be permitted to sit in the House, That he would not act any thing prejudicial to the present Government ; which many refused, and returned home, but the major part assenting to it, entered the House, and chose Sir Tho. Widdrington Speaker, and not minding those that were excluded, referred the approbation of them to the Protectors Council. They then proceed according to the protectors desire, making an Act for disannulling the Title of Charles Stewart to the Government of these three Nations, nemine contradicente ; another for making it Treason for any to attempt, compass, or imagine the Protectors death, and appointing such offenders to be tryed not by a Jury of twelve sufficient men, but by a High Court of Justice ; a third for an assessment upon England, Scotland and Ireland, of seventy thousand pound a month for three years ; an Act for preventing multiplicity of buildings, in, and ten miles about London, a whole years Revenue to be paid for all dwellings or Out-houses, raised upon any new foundation since 1620. An Act for Excise of merchandize imported : An Act for punishing such as live at high rates, and have no visible Estates ; and lastly, for the observation of the Lords-day. When these Acts were ready for signing, the Protector came to the painted Chamber and sent for the Parliament, where the Speaker tendring them to him, at the signing them he spake thus

‘ Mr. Speaker, I perceive that among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Common-wealth, by these Bills for levying of money now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto ; and understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been chief Governors, — to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard of the publick, I

do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.

But leaving the parliament awhile, let us relate a most daring attempt performed under the conduct of Gen. Blake about this time. This valiant commander lying with his Fleet near Cadiz, had advice that the Spanish West-India Fleet was put into the port of Sancta Cruze in Teneriff, the chief Isle of the Canaries, whereupon the Fleet weighed, and April 20. 1657. came to the mouth of Sancta Cruze Bay, where they saw sixteen Spanish ships lying in order almost like an half moon. At the North of the Haven is a castle well fortified with cannon, besides seven Forts more, with three, four, and six Guns apiece, so that the enterprize seemed dangerous, if not desperate: And Don Diego D'aquies, had caused all the smaller ships to be moored along the shoar to secure them, and the six great Gallions lay further off at Anchor, with their broad-sides towards the Sea. Blake perceiving all this, calls a Council of War, where it was resolved to attack them instantly, without any thought of danger; Capt. Stainer in the Speaker, presently falls upon the ships, disregarding the number of shot which came thundering from the Forts on every side as thick as hail and maintains near an hours fight, till the Generals, Blake and Montague, having ordered some Frigates to ply the Forts and Breast-works, with continual broad-sides, came up, and with all their force attack'd the Spaniards, who after four hours gallant resistance, were driven out of their ships, which the English could not easily bring away, and were therefore forced to burn to the number of sixteen small and great. This gallant attempt cost the English but 48 men, and 120 wounded. The Spaniards, besides the loss of their whole Fleet, had several hundreds of men slain on the shoar, and in the Forts and VVorks, besides those kill'd in the ships. For this notable exploit, the Protector, by order of parliament, sent

Diamond Ring worth 500*l.* as a present to G. Blake and capt. Rich. Stainer, who led on the first squadron, was at his first coming into England, for this and his former services, Knighted by the protector.

At this time one Miles Syndercomb, an Officer formerly in Scotland, under M. Gen. Overton, was seized, and accused to design to take away the life of the protector, in combination with a disguised person, said to be a Priest sent from Don Alonso in Flanders, who was engaged as principal. It was alledged that several proper houses were taken to shoot the protector, with Engines, Blunderbusses, and other fire Arms at his going to the parliament, or in the way to Hampton-court, and that the chappel at White-Hall was to be fired with a strong combustible matter. This account Secretary Thurloe delivered to the parliament, in moving terms, that the House ordered a day of Thanksgiving, and a Narrative of the plot to be published, and went in a Body to congratulate His Highness happy Deliverance, where Sir Tho. Widdrington, their speaker, made a speech, wherein he declar'd, ' 1. The danger and ruine of the Reformed
' Churches abroad, and three Nations at home, who
' were struck at by this blow : 2. The cunning se-
' crecy of it, that no more than two should be privy
' to this wicked design : 3. The extensiveness of it,
' resolving if they failed in one place to do it in ano-
' ther, so that if Cicero were living, he would want
' expression to set out the danger and the mercy, and
' it being so unparallell'd and unprecedented a dili-
' verance, the parliaments Hymn ought to be, O Cante-
' mus, Cantemus, Canticum Novum, O let us sing a
' new song to the Lord, bless his Name, shew forth
' his salvation this day, for he hath done marvelous
' things, his right hand, and his holy arm, hath gotten
' him the Victory. As the members were ascending
the stairs of the banquetting-house, a press of people
crowding with them, the stairs broke under them,
and

and Richard, the Protectors Son, was much bruised, and Mr. Ellis, Solicitor General, broke his leg.

Syndercomb, the next Term, was by the direction of the parliament, tryed for this Treason at the Kings Bench Bar : He denied the plot, but the evidence swearing positively against him, he was convicted upon the statute of 25 Edw. 3. Justice Glyn upon his condemnation declaring, that by the King was understood any chief magistrate of the Nation. He was carried thence to the Tower, where the Night before his execution, it was supposed he poysoned himself, as the Coroners Jury gave their Verdict : He went well to bed, desiring before half an hours privacy for his prayers, which being elapsed, he opened the door, and rubbing his hands together, and his Nose with them, he briskly bid them good Night, and being found dead next morning, his body, awhile after, was tyed with his head to the Horses Tail, and drawn to the scaffold at Tower-hill, where he was buried, and a stake, covered with Iron at top, driven into his body.

The sect of the Quakers were now grown numerous, among whom one called James Naylor, resembling, in his proportions and complexion, the picture of Christ, and setting his beard and locks in the same fashion, pretended to counterfiet our blessed Saviour, and had Disciples and Women ministring to him, who blasphemously applied several expressions of scripture relating to our Lord Jesus, to this man. He first appeared at Bristol, where a man leading an Horse before him, and Dorcas, Erbury, and Martha Symonds, going up to the knees in dirt by his Horse side, sung aloud, Holy, Holy, Holy, Hosanna to the Highest, &c. For this they were seized, and brought up to the parliament. They entered the House singing their blasphemies, and a Committee being appointed to consider of their punishment, he was sentenced to be set in the Pillory twice, and whipt twice, and his forehead to be stigmatized with a letter B. for a Blasphemer,

mer, and bored through the Tongue with an hot Iron, with which he used to answer to every quest-
on, Thou hast said it ; and the like. He was likewise
whipt at Bristol, and thence returned to Bridewell, to
be kept close prisoner, and to eat no more than he
earned. In Newgate, after his punishment, one
Mr. Rich. a merchant of credit, that held him by the
hand while he was in the Pillory, with divers others,
lick'd his wounds; the Women were observed, some
to lay their heads in his lap, lying against his Feet,
others to lean upon his shoulder, and as soon as any
Quaker came into his company, they would first take
him by the hand, and in a strange note say, Holy, Holy,
&c. but being removed to Bridewell, after three days
wilful fasting, having weakned himself even to death,
he begged some Victuals, and then was set to work,
which he performed, and came by degrees to him-
self, and his understanding ; after Cromwels death he
had his liberty, and soon after died.

The parliament had been long debating about
settling the Government on the protector, when on a
sudden Alderman Pack of London, and one of the
members, started a motion, ' That in regard of the
' unsettlement of the Nation, and the discomposure
' of mens minds, and the ill aspect it had upon Fo-
' reign Princes, and all Trade, that therefore the pro-
' tector might be desired to assume the stile of King,
' as the most known, and most agreeable Govern-
' ment. This motion was seconded by several of the
protectors Courtiers, and April 9. the parliament ha-
ving desired a meeting with him, came to the Ban-
quetting-house at White-Hall, where the speaker Sir
Tho. Widdrington, commended the Title and Office
of a King, as being settled in this Nation with Christia-
nity it self approved by our Ancestors, and consistent
with our Laws and the temper of the people, and
then presented him the model of their humble peti-
tion and advice to that purpose : His Highness, in an-
swer-

swer hereto, said, ' Mr. Speaker, this is a weighty matter, and therefore I desire space to seek God, the charge that you would lay upon me being too heavy for me to bear without his assistance, for the English are the best people in the World, and require all tenderness and consideration whatsoever, to be used for preserving their liberties and properties.

The next day a Committee was appointed to wait upon him, and receive his scruples, and to offer reasons for his satisfaction. The objections the protector made, were, First, ' That the Title of a King is a Name of Office, and any Name that may imply the supream magistrate hath the same signification, and therefore there is no necessity of a change. To this they reply, ' That the Name of a King is only equal to, and comprehensive of the Office of the supream magistrate: It is a rule, That the Kings of England cannot alter the Laws by reason of their Name, and that there is no obligation upon any other, that the very Title was declared necessary in the 9th. of Edw. 4. in the controversie betwixt him and Hen. 7. and every action done by the King in possession was valid, and that the Name King had beginning with our Laws, and that new Laws must be made for settling the Government in a protector.

The other objection was the danger and difficulty of altering the same Government to a Common-wealth, and the refusal of some Judges, and acting of others, upon that ground: That another parliament might change those resolutions: The dislike of the good people and Army; that providence had laid aside the Title of King after seven years VVar, and many of the chief of those who were Instrumental therein were dissatisfied. These scruples the Committee endeavoured to remove, by alledging, ' That providence had now brought about affairs so, that it seemed necessary for His Highness to comply with it; and

‘ as for discontented persons, they have been always
 ‘ found in the best of Governments. But because
 this was a matter of consequence, I shall repeat the
 speech made by the Lord VVhidlock, one of the Com-
 mittee, sent to the protector, with his answer thereto;
 who after several others had offered their sentiments,
 summed up the most material reasons as followeth :

‘ Sir, I have but very little to trouble your High-
 ‘ ness with, so much hath been already spoken and so
 ‘ well, that it will be hard for me, or any other, to
 ‘ undertake to add to it, only the duty of my Employ-
 ‘ ment, and something due to your Highness, occasi-
 ‘ ons me to speak a few words, to acknowledge, with
 ‘ very humble thanks, the Honour and Right which
 ‘ you have done this Committee by the clear and free
 ‘ discourses and conferences which they have had
 ‘ with your Highness, and for your frequent expres-
 ‘ sions, and testimonies of affection and respect to the
 ‘ parliament, whose sense is this, I may presume to
 ‘ speak, That never any persons met their supream
 ‘ magistrate with more love, duty and honour, than
 ‘ the parliament have met your Highness with in their
 ‘ addresses ; which argument of love, deserves that
 ‘ esteem and force which I doubt not but your High-
 ‘ ness will put upon it. I am fearful to be too redi-
 ‘ ous at any time, especially at so late an hour, and
 ‘ therefore shall speak but short to some things which
 ‘ I remember not to have been mentioned : Your
 ‘ Highness was pleased at the last meeting to say, That
 ‘ the original Institution of the Title, King, was by
 ‘ common consent, and that the same common con-
 ‘ sent might institute any other Title, and make it as
 ‘ effectual as that of King : This must be acknow-
 ‘ ledged, but withal, you may be pleased to observe.
 ‘ That the Title of King is not only by an original
 ‘ common consent, but that consent also approved and
 ‘ confirmed, and the Law fitted thereunto, and that
 ‘ fitted to the Laws, by the experience and industry
 ‘ of

of many Ages, and many hundreds of years together, whereas any other Title will be only by present common consent, without that experience and approbation: For that experience which your Highness mentioned to have been of other Titles, and the due administration of Justice under them, this experience is far short of the other; and for the course of Justice we have cause to thank that care which placed so good Judges and Officers over us. Yet give me leave to say, That in private causes, between party and party, and in publick matters in nominal causes, it was not easie to find Justice to be done by some Jurors, and many questions have risen upon the occasion of those new Titles: Concerning that tender point of good mens satisfaction, I think it requires a very great regard from us, and I doubt not but those good people will be fully satisfied, if they consider the covenants, promises and precepts, which in the scripture are annex'd to the Name of King; and although some have alledg'd, that they belong to any chief magistrate, as well as to King, yet no man did ever read the original word translated otherwise than King: Neither do I find the Title of Protector once mentioned in the holy Text. If the present Authority be a lawful Authority, which I hope none of us will deny, surely those good men who are so well principled in Godliness, will not forget that precept of submission to Authority and to be satisfied with that which lawful Authority shall ordain; their Rights and Liberties are the same with ours, and the parliament cannot advise any thing for the preservation of the peoples Rights, but these good men are included, which I hope will be no dissatisfaction to them. In all the changes which we have seen, there hath been a dissatisfaction to some, yet still the blessing of God hath gone along through all these changes, with those who carried on his Interest; and the cause be-
ing

ing the same, the same mercies have been continued.
And I doubt not, but if the intended change and
restitution be made, as I hope it will, I doubt not
but the same God will continue his blessings to that
Good Old Cause wherein we are engaged, and that
good men will receive satisfaction by it. Your High-
ness hath been told, That the Title of King is upon
the foundation of Law, and that a new Title must
have a constitution to make the Laws relate unto it,
and that unto the Laws; I shall only add this, That
a Title by Relation is not so certain and safe as a Ti-
tle upon the old foundation of the Law, and that a
Title upon a single present constitution, as any new
Title must be, cannot be so firm as a Title built up-
on the present constitution, and upon the old foun-
dation of the Law likewise, which the Title of King
will be. If any inconvenience should ensue upon
your acceptance of this Title which the parliament
adviseeth, your Highness's satisfaction will be that
they did advise it.

On the contrary part, if any inconvenience should
arise upon your Highness refusal of this Title which
the parliament hath advised, your burthen will be
the greater, and therefore whatsoever may fall out,
will be better answered by your Highness comply-
ing with your parliament then otherwise; the
Question is not altogether new, some instances have
been given of the like, to which I shall add two or
three. The Title of the Kings of England, in the
Realm of Ireland, was, Lord of Ireland; and the
parliament in the 33 year of Hen. 8. relating, That
inconveniences did arise there, by reason of that
Title, did enact, That Hen. 8. should assume the
Stile and Title of King of Ireland, which in the
judgment of the parliament was preferred before
the other.

In the State of Rome new Titles proved fatal to
their Liberties; their case was not much unlike
ours,

ours, they were wearied with a Civil VVar, and coming to a settlement, some would not admit the Title of Rex to be used, but were contented to give the Titles of Cæsar, Perpetual Dictator, Prince, Senate, Emperor : So that at length, the will of Cæsar was their Law, who said, I am not a King but Cæsar. The Northern people were more happy among themselves ; a private Gentleman, of a Noble Family, took up Arms with his country-men against a Tyrant, and by the blessing of God, rescued the Native Liberties and Rights of their country, from the oppression of that Tyrant : This Gentleman had the Title of Marshal given unto him, which continued for some years ; afterward their Parliament judging it best to resume the old Title, Elected this Gentleman King, and with him was brought in the liberty of Protestant Religion, and the establishment of the Civil Rights of that People, which have continued in a prosperous condition ever since in Sweden, unto this day. Sir, I shall make no other application but in my prayers to God, to direct your Highness and the parliament, as I hope he will, to do that which will be most for his honour, and the good of his people.

This speech was made April 26. 1657. but the Protector finding the inclinations of some of the people, and especially of many Officers and Souldiers of the Army, to be very averse to the Title of King, which they had lately renounced, and likewise doubting, as it was then discours'd, that they would fortifie his Title, but weaken his Revenue, who required Nineteen hundred thousand pound a year, for the support of his Government, besides the charge of the Spanissh VVar, he thereupon sent for the Parliament to the Banqueting-house at white-Hall, May 8. following, where he gave them his last, and positive answer to this purpose :

Mr, Speaker, I am come hither to answer that which

which was in your last paper of your Committee
 you sent me, which was in relation to the desires
 which were offered me by the House, in that they
 called their petition. I confess that business hath
 put the Parliament to a great deal of trouble, and
 spent much time : I am very sorry that it hath cost
 me some, and some thoughts, and because I have
 been the unhappy occasion of the expence of so
 much time, I shall spend little of it now : I have,
 the best I can, resolved the whole business in my
 thoughts, and I have said so much already in testi-
 mony of the whole, that I think I shall not need
 to repeat any thing that I have said. I think it is a
 Government, that the aims of it seek much a settling
 of the Nation on a good foot, in relation to Civil
 Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Na-
 tion ; and I hope I shall never be found to be of
 them that shall go about to rob the Nation of these
 Rights, but to serve them what I can to the attain-
 ing them : It hath also exceeding well provided
 for the safety and security of honest men, in that
 great, natural, and religious liberty, which is Liber-
 ty of Conscience. These are great fundamentals,
 and I must bear my Testimony to them (as I have,
 and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in
 this VWorld) that the intentions of the things are ve-
 ry honourable and honest, and the product worthy
 of a Parliament ; I have only had the unhappiness,
 both in my conferences with your Committees, and
 in the best thoughts I could take to my self, not to
 be convicted of the necessity of that thing that hath
 been so often insisted upon by you, to wit, The Ti-
 tle of King, as in it self necessary, as it seems to be
 apprehended by your selves ; and I do with all ho-
 nour and respect, to the judgment of the Parliament,
 testifie that (cæteris paribus) no private judgment is
 to ly in the ballance with the judgment of a Par-
 liament, but in things that respect particular persons,
 every

every man that is to give an account to God of his actions, he must in some measure be able to prove his own work, that is, To have an approbation in his own conscience of that he is to do or forbear : And whilst you are granting others liberties, surely you will not deny me this, it being not only a liberty but a duty (and such a duty as I cannot without sinning forbear) to examine my own heart and thoughts, and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in for.

I must confess therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other, yet I must be a little confident in this, that what with the circumstances that accompany humane actions, whether they be circumstances of time or persons, whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private or particular circumstances that compass any person that is to render an account of his own actions, I have truly thought, and do still think, that if I should (at the best) do any thing on this account to answer your expectation, it would be at the best doubtingly, and certainly what is so, is not of faith; whatsoever is not of faith is sin to him that doth it, whether it be with relation to the substance of the action, about which the consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it, which make all indifferent actions good or evil to him that doth it. I lying under this consideration, think it my duty, only I could have wished I had done it sooner for your sake, for saving time and trouble, and indeed for the Committees sake, to whom I must acknowledge publicly, I have been unseasonably troublesome; I say, I could have wished I had given it sooner, but truly this is my answer, That although I think the Government doth consist in very excellent parts in all, but in that one thing the Title, as to me: I should not be an honest man if I should not tell you that I cannot accept of the Government, nor under-
take

take the trouble and charge of it, which I have a little more experimented than every man, as to what troubles and difficulties do befall men in such Trusts, and in such Undertakings : I say, I am perswaded to return this answer to you, That I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of a King, and this is mine answer to this great and weighty business.

The Protector having refused the Title of King, the Committee of Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory Act to the humble Petition and Advice, in respect of the Protectors Oath, his Councils, the Members of Parliament ; the other House, which was to consist of about sixty Lords of the Protectors Electing, and having Voted, That Protector should be the Title of the chief Magistrate, and the Petition and Advice being allowed accordingly, the House desired a conference with his Highness, who accordingly meets them, May 25. 1657. in the painted Chamber, where Sir Tho. Widdrington presents him with the humble Petition and Advice, the substance whereof was,

1. That His Highness Oliver Cromwel, under the Title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to execute the Office of chief Magistrate over England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Territories thereunto belonging, and to govern according to all things in this Petition and Advice ; and also, that he would in this life time, appoint the person that should succeed in the Government after his death. 2. That he would call a Parliament consisting of two Houses, once in three years at farthest. 3. That those persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of the people to serve in parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members, 4. That none but those under the Qualifications therein mentioned, shall be capable to serve as Members in Parliament. 5. That the power of the other House be limited as herein prescribed. 6. That the Laws
and

' and Statutes of the Land to be observed and kept no
 ' Laws altered, suspended, abrogated or repealed, or
 ' new Laws made but by Act of Parliament. 7. That
 ' the yearly sum of a Million of pounds sterling be
 ' settled for the maintenance of the Navy and Army,
 ' and three hundred thousand pounds for support of
 ' the Government besides other temporary supplies
 ' as the commons in Parliament shall see the necessi-
 ' ties of the Nation to require. 8. That the number
 ' of the Protectors Council shall not be above twenty
 ' one, whereof the Quorum to be seven. 9. The
 ' chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers of
 ' the Great Seal, &c. to be appointed by Parliament.
 ' 10. That his Highness would encourage a godly Mi-
 ' nistry in these Nations, and that such as do revile
 ' and disturb them in the worship of God, may be
 ' punished according to Law, and where Laws are
 ' defective, new ones to be made. 11. That the
 ' Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in
 ' the Old and New Testament, be asserted and held
 ' forth for the publick profession of these Nations and
 ' no other, and that a Confession of Faith be agreed
 ' upon, and recommended to the people of these
 ' Nations, and none be permitted by words or wri-
 ' ting, to revile or reproach the said Confession of
 ' Faith, &c.

The Petition and Advice being read, was by the
 Protector passed into a Law, though with much seem-
 ing reluctance, as the following Speech declared.

' Mr. Speaker, I am not come hither this day as to
 ' a Triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that
 ' ever I had in my life, being to undertake one of the
 ' greatest burthens that ever was laid upon the back
 ' of any humane creature, so that without the sup-
 ' port of the Almighty, I must necessarily sink under
 ' the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of
 ' these Nations : And this being so, I must ask the
 ' help of the Parliament, and the help of all those that
 ' fear

' fear God, that by their prayers I may receive as-
 ' sistance from the hand of God, seeing nothing but
 ' his presence can enable me to the discharge of so
 ' great a Trust. And seeing this is but an Intro-
 ' duction to the carrying on the Government of these
 ' Nations, and forasmuch as there are many things
 ' which cannot be supplied without the help of a Par-
 ' liament, I think it my duty to desire your help, not
 ' that I doubt of it, for I believe that the same spirit
 ' that led the Parliament to this, will easily suggest
 ' the rest to them, And truly, nothing could have
 ' induced me to undertake this intolerable burden to
 ' flesh and blood, had I not seen that it was the Par-
 ' liaments care to answer those ends for which they
 ' have engaged; and I call God to witness, that I
 ' would not have undergone it, had I not seen it to
 ' be determined by the Parliament to make clearly
 ' for the Liberty and Interest of the Nation, and pre-
 ' servation of such as fear God, and if these Nations
 ' be not thankful to you for your care therein, it will
 ' fall as a sin on their heads. To conclude, I would
 ' recommend to you the Reformation of the Nation,
 ' by discountenancing Vice, and giving encourage-
 ' ment to Good men and Virtue, desiring that you
 ' would not be wanting in any thing that may make
 ' for the good of the Nations, wishing the Lord to
 ' prosper all your aims and endeavours.

This Speech ended, the Members return to their
 House, and soon after the Protector sends them a Let-
 ter, desiring their Adjournment till the Inauguration
 of the Lord Protector could be performed, and ac-
 cordingly they passed a Bill for adjourning from June
 26. to Jan. 20. following, June 26. being appointed
 for his Highness solemn Investiture; and the same
 day a place being prepared in Westminster-Hall there
 were two Chairs set, one for the Protector, with a
 Canopy of State over it, and another for the Speaker,
 with seats built Scaffold-wise, for the Parliament, on
 both

both sides, and places below for the Aldermen of London, and others; all which being ready, the Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lords House, and in this order proceeded into the Hall: First went his Gentlemen, then an Herald, the Attorney-General, then the Judges, after them Norroy King at Arms, the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury, the Seal carried by Commissioner Fines then Garter, and after him the Earl of Warwick with the Sword born before the Protector bare-headed, the L. Mayor Tichburn carrying the City Sword by his left hand: Being seated in the Chair, on the left hand stood the L. Mayor, and the Dutch Ambassador, and on the right the E. of Warwick, and the French Ambassador, next behind him stood his Son Richard, L. Fleetwood, and L. Cleypool, and the Privy-council, upon a lower descent stood the Lords Montague and Whitlock with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker Sir Tho. Widdrington, in the Name of the Parliament, presented to him several things that were laid on the Table, which were a Robe of purple Velvet, a Bible, a Scepter, and a Sword, on each of which the Speaker made a short Comment as he delivered them.

1. The Robe of purple: This is an Emblem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice; when you have put on this Vestment, I may say you are a Gown-man. This Robe is of a mixt colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy; indeed a Magistrate must have two hands, Plectentem & Amplectentem, to Cherish and to Punish.
2. The Bible is a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed: This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and New, the first shews Christum Velatum; the second, Christum Revelatum, Christ Veiled and Revealed: It is a Book of Books, and doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good

Government.

Government. 3. Here is a Scepter, not unlike a Staff to the weak and poor, it is of ancient use in this kind. It's said in Scripture, That the Scepter shall not depart from Judah ; it was of the like use in other Kingdoms, however the greek Poet calls Kings and Princes Scepter-bearers. 4. The last thing is a Sword, not a Military but Civil Sword ; it is a Sword rather of Defence than Offence, not to defend your self only, but your people also. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the Valiant Lord Talbot did upon his, it should be this, Ego sum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum populum meum, I am the Lord Protectors to protect my people.

After this the Speaker returned again to the Chair, and administered the Oath to the Protector in these following words,

I do in the presence, and by the Name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my power and understanding, and encourage the profession and professors of the same: And that to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as chief Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the peace and safety, and Just Rights and Priviledges of the people thereof ; and shall in all things, according to my best knowledge and power, govern the people of these Nations according to Law.

The Oath administered, Dr. Manton made a Prayer, and then an Herald stood up aloft, giving signal to a Trumpet to sound three times ; after which, he did by Authority and Direction of Parliament, publish and proclaim his Highness Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland,

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requiring

requiring all persons to yeild him due obedience. This Proclamation ended, the Trumpets again sounded, and some Souldiers and others caryed out, God save the Lord Protector: Then was he again proclaimed by an Officer at Arms, standing on the Stairs. The Ceremonies ended, the protector attended by all the Officers of State, went into the Palace-Yard in his Robes, where entering his Coach, he returned in State to White-Hall.

This year an Insurrection was designed by those called Fifth Monarchy-men, who had divers meetings in an House in Shore-Ditch, several of them being discontented persons, who had been formerly of the Army; they had appointed to have Rendevouzed on Mile-end-Green, and so have marched into other Counties to augment their party. At length they were seized, and some Arms and Ammunition taken with them; and a Standard with a Lyon Couchant, with this Motto, Who shall rouse him up? The Men taken were Venner, a Wine-Cooper, with their Scribe Grey, Goaler Hopkins, Ashton, and others: About them was found a Declaration in Print, called, The principle of the Remnant; they were committed to prison, but after released without prosecution. Likewise M. Gen. Harrison, Vice-Admiral Lawson, Coll. Rich, and Coll. Danvers, were secured as Discontents. About this time the Victorious General Blake returning from the Coasts of Spain, fell sick of the Scurvy and Dropfie, and dyed just entering into Plymouth Sound, where he passionately inquired for Land; he was buried with an handsome Funeral from Greenwich, and interr'd in Hen. 7. Chappel at Westminster.

The Protector to keep the Spaniards employed every where, makes a private agreement with France to send a Brigade of his best Infantry, (which the French extreamly wanted, to Flanders) consisting of 6000 men, and about May 4. 1657. they arrived in Picardy, and joined with those Forces commanded by

by the Marshal Turenne, to which the protector was the more induced because the K. of Spain had invited K. Charles into his Dominions since the breach with England, and he was then at Bruges full of expectation of being restored by the power of that King; and the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Wilmot, the Lords Gerrard and Wentworth, the Lord Twiss, and General Middleton, had their several Regiments Quartered about the Sea coasts in order to a Descent, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester had likewise commands in Flanders. Sir John Reynolds, one of Cromwells Knights, formerly Commissary General of the Army in Ireland, was General of the English Forces, and coll. Morgan Major Gen. Before their embarkement they Rendezvoused at Black-Heath, where Mr. Hugh Peters gave them a Sermon for encouragement, and were shipped with a months pay in-hand, and all new red Coats.

About the middle of September, the French and English Forces advance into the Spanish Territories, and according to agreement sat down before Mardike, a strong Fortress, and put themselves between it and Dunkirk: General Montague riding before the Splinter with a Fleet of War, it was not long before a continued Battery made the besieged quit the wooden Fort, which so incommoded them when taken by the English, that they were obliged to yield to mercy, Turenne not allowing them better terms because they had refused his first offers: Mardike was presently put into the hands of the English according to agreement, in consideration of our assistance, and coll. Morgan took possession thereof with several Regiments, whom the Spaniards soon after endeavoured to remove, by a sudden and fierce assault, after the Armies were drawn into Winter Quarters, since being only two miles from Dunkirk, they were very fearful it might endanger that Town also. Whereupon, Don John of Austria resolved to hazard a Sca-

lads and Attack by Night; the Duke of York, and the Marquess of Caravene managed the business, and K. Charles, and the D. of Gloucester, had conveyed themselves into Dunkirk to observe the success of it, Oct. 22. About 4000 English, Scots, Irish, and some Spaniards, about Ten a Clock at Night, began the storming of Mardike with hand Granadoes, and all other Engines proper for an assault, and, were got into the Trenches, and had mounted the Scaling Ladders, but the English within being ready to receive them; commanded by Reynolds, Morgan, and Lillingstone, who were there at that time, the Assailants were with great slaughter repulsed and beaten down, the Cannon in the mean time, from the English Fleet in the Splinter, firing their broadsides upon them, being directed by four great Torchés set up at the four corners of the Fort, how to avoid damaging it. Yet about four a Clock in the morning, the D. of York commanded the assault to be renewed, which was done with great fury, but to as little purpose or advantage as before, so that day light approaching they were forced to retreat, carrying away the dead in Waggon, which were judged to be some hundreds, though the number was not certainly known.

Since force would not prevail, the Duke designed to attempt the regaining this important place by stratagem, to which purpose he imployed a Scotch Knight, who was well acquainted with General Reynolds, to represent to him the advantages he might obtain by serving the King, and promoting his Interest and Restoration, which it seems so far prevailed, that Reynolds agreed to give the Duke a meeting betwixt Dunkirk and Mardike, with a party of Horse on either side. At their approach, Reynolds shewed much respect to the Duke, and some private discourses passed between them which were never made publick, and then the General returned to the Fort, and the Duke to Dunkirk. The Protector having Intelligenc

ligence of this Enterview, dispatch away a messenger to command General Reynolds instantly to London, which he, with Coll. White, and the Generals Secretary, readily obeying, and taking the first ship that was ready, and would venture to go off, which was a Dutch Pink of 100 Guns, in a stormy Night, Dec. 12. (a Frigate offering to wait upon him the next morning) he was cast away the same Night on the back of the Goodwin-sands, his Chest, sword, and Belt, being found thereabout, and Coll. Morgan commanded in his place.

About this time there happened Wars between the two Northern Crowns, and the Danes having attacked Bremer-warden, a very strong place, and soon after master'd it, the Protector sent Sir Philip Medows Envoy to the K. of Denmark, and Coll. Jephson to the King of Sweden, then journeying out of Poland, (where he was engaged in War likewise) to meet this new Enemy: They were both well received, and during this Mediation the Protector sent supplies of 2000 men and arms to his Ally the K. of Sweden.

Mean while the protector at home was swearing his Privy Council, pursuant to one of the Articles of the humble petition and advice, and his Son Richard was made one, and also Chancellor of the University of Oxford: His Son Henry was constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland; and his Son-in-law, the Lord Fleetwood, was designed to be Lord Commissioner of Scotland, where General Monk at present commanded. He likewise, in this interval of Parliament, made choice of several persons to fill up the other House or House of Lords (according to the fourth Article of the Petition and Advice) being sixty two in number, many of whom refused to appear or act with them, their Names were these:

Lord Rich. Cromwel,	L. President Lawrence,
L. Hen. Cromwel,	Lt. Gen. Fleetwood,
L. Commissioner Lisle,	Robert E. of Warwick,

Edw. E. of Manchester,	Oliver St. John,
L. Say and Seal,	VVill. Pierrepoint,
L. Viscount Lisle,	John Crew,
L. Viscount Howard,	Alex. Popham,
Philip L. VVharton,	Philip Jones,
L. Falconbridge,	Sir Christopher Pack,
L. Ewers,	Sir Robert Tichbourn,
John Cleypool,	Edward VVhaley,
John Desborough,	John Berkstead,
General Montague,	Sir John Hewson,
Bulstrode VVhitlock,	Sir Thomas Pride,
VVilliam Sydenham,	Sir George Fleetwood,
Sir Charles VVoolsey,	Richard Ingoldsby,
Sir Gilb. Pickering,	James Berry,
Maj. Gen. Skippon,	VVilliam Goff,
VValter Strickland,	Thomas Cooper,
Francis Rous,	Edmand Thomas,
John Jones,	General Monk,
Sir VVill. Strickland,	David Earl of Castills,
Sir Francis Ruffel,	Sir VVilliam Lockhart,
Sir Tho. Honeywood,	Lord VVarreston,
Sir Arth. Haslerig,	VVilliam Steel,
Sir John Hobard,	Roger Lord Broghill,
Sir Rich. Onslow,	Sir Matt. Tomlinson,
Sir Gilb. Gerrard,	VVilliam Lenthall,
Sir VVilliam Roberts,	Richard Hamden.
John Glyn,	

He likewise made three Commissioners of the Great Seal.

Nath. Fiennes,	VVilliam Lenthall, Master
John Lisle,	of the Rolls.

Judges of both Benches.

Of the Upper Bench :	Of the Common Bench :
John Glyn, L.C. Justice,	Edward Arkyns,
Philip VVarlinton,	Matthew Hale,
Richard Nudigate,	Hugh VVindham.
Oliver St. John	

Barons of the Exchequer : Attorney General,
 Robert Nicholas, Edmund Prideaux :
 John Parker, Solicitor General,
 Roger Hill, William Ellis.
 Erasmus Earl.

The time of the prorogation of the parliament being expired, they make their appearance again, and the persons above-named met in the House of Lords, where the protector coming he sends to the Commons to tell them, that he desired their attendance in the House of Peers, whither the Speaker and the Members go, to whom he makes a very pleasing speech, concluding, ' That if they would go on to prosecute what they had begun, they should be called the blessed of the Lord, and the Generations to come would bless them. ' After which the Lord Commissioner Fiennes spake to hem, declaring what occasions the Government had for money, and that the money already granted, though it was thought sufficient, yet fell much beneath the expence and necessity of the State ; especially that Tax upon the new buildings, failed altogether of what was expected and intended by it, and so recommended the whole affair to their consideration.

Being sate in their Houses, the other House sent to the Commons, by two of their Members, a message for a day of Humiliation; and were returned with this answer, The House will consider of it; and then they Voted, that for two months time liberty should be given to exhibit any petitions against undue Elections, and consented to a Fast, which was kept within the walls of both Houses, by Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Cary, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Griffith.

The Parliament, according to the fourth Article of the Petition and Advice, which says, ' That no Members legally chosen should be excluded from performance of their duty but by consent of Parliament, immediately proceed to the calling over, and re-admitting

mitting those members which had formerly been se-
cluded by the protector, to His Highness great discon-
tent. The House being now full, began to slight the
other House, which they said, being a power created
by a part of a parliament, ought not to have a Nega-
tive Voyce over a full House, and at length they pro-
ceeded to question the protectors power in calling
and authorizing them to sit as an House of Peers. The
protector doubting to what height these debates
might arise, Feb. 4. 1657. he goes to the House of
Lords, and by the Usher of the black Rod sends to
acquaint the Commons of his being there; so the
speaker and members coming to the Bar, His Highness
sitting under a Chair of State made a long speech,
and in conclusion told them, ' That it did concern
' his Interest, as much as the publick peace and tran-
' quility of the Nation, to dissolve this parliament,
' and therefore he did now put an end to their sitting:
So the House in obedience to his commands dissolved.
This was the fourth parliament he had dissolved, ha-
ving turned out the Long parliament, the Little par-
liament, the Recognition parliament, and the present
Junctro. It was said of the three latter, which was sum-
moned by Cromwel himself, ' That the first was cal-
' led but not chosen: The second did just nothing:
' And the third did nothing Just.

The Royalists now make another attempt for resto-
ring King Charles, of which the protector had Intel-
ligence by his Emissaries, so that when the design
was just ripe for execution, he published a Proclama-
tion for all Cavaliers to depart twenty miles from Lon-
don and Westminster, and the Marquess of Ormond,
who was personally concerned in the Intrigue, with
much difficulty escaped in a small Boat from Suffex
to Flanders; but several others were seized, as coll.
Russel, Sir Will. Compton, Sir Will. Clayton. Mr. Mor-
dant brother to the Earl of Peterborough, Dr. John
Hewit preacher at St. Gregories by St. Pauls, Mr. Wood-
cock,

cock, Mr. Mansel, Mr. Mallory, Sir Henry Slingsby, and many more; most of them were kept close prisoners till some were prevailed upon to be Witnesses against others. The design was laid in Kent, Essex, Surrey and Sussex, the King being ready to have passed over from Flanders with an Army, under the conduct of Count Marcin the P. of Condes General, and Portsmouth, Hull, and other Maritime Fortresses, were treated for. The Protector sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, acquainting them with what discoveries he had made, and the danger they were in, who thereupon chose a new Lieutenantcy, and changed the Officers of the Trained Bands, and the Protector doubled his Guards, and an alarm was given, that on May. 16. the Cavaliers had appointed for their rising, and firing the Town, and all the Souldiers about the City were to be murdered, whereupon all the six Regiments were raised at once, and divers Citizens seized.

Soon after another High Court of Justice was erected, before, whom Dr. Hewit, and Sir Henry Slingsby, were brought and charged with High Treason upon these Articles: 1. That they had traiterously and maliciously endeavoured to raise force, and levy War against his Highness and the Government, and to subvert and alter the same. 2. That they had traiterously declared, published, and promoted, Charles Stuart, eldest Son of the late K. Charles, to be King of England, Scotland and Ireland. 3. That they had held Intelligence with the said Charles Stuart. Dr. Hewit would not own the Court, but pleaded several cases against it, and was therefore condemned as mute: Mr. Mordant was next set to the Bar, who argued so very plainly and fully against the Evidence, that he was acquitted by one voice only. Sir Henry Slingsby defended himself by alledging, That what was said by him about seducing the Governor of Hull, and perswading him to surrender that Garrison to the King, was but only in Jest and discourse: He was found Guilty and condemned. Mr. Mallory pleaded guilty and was saved. Mr. Woodcock cleared himself so well, that they could fasten nothing upon him. June 8. 1657. Dr. Hewit and Sir Henry Slingsby were Beheaded on Tower-hill, though many endeavours were used, and much sollicitation made to save their Lives. Some other persons of inferior quality were likewise Tried and Executed upon this account, as Coll. Edw. Ashton, who was Hang'd and Quartered at Mark-lane-end, in Tower-street, Edmund Stacy against the Royal-Exchange, and John Betterly in Cheap-side.

About this time a great Whale of sixty foot long came up as far as Greenwich, to the admiration of all that saw his vast bulk, being pursued with Guns and other weapons, with great danger, and at length was brought dead to the shore.

The French and English Armies being joined, now sat down before Dunkirk, resolving to take it before they stirred, which

hotly alarmed the Spaniards in all their Quarters; whereupon Don John of Austria, considering the importance of this place, as being the Key of Flanders, and a Frontier of France, so that if the English possessed it, they might have an opportunity to conquer all Flanders, by the Forces that might be continually landed from England, with the Supplies of money which this Town, by their Booties, brought into the Treasury. Upon these and the like motives, he resolved to attempt its relief though with the hazard of his whole Army, but whilst he is getting them together, the English and French Forces had in a short time run their Trenches to the Spanish Counterscarp, and still approached higher the wall, which the Spaniards having notice of, and fearing their relief might come too late, he made all possible haste to its assistance: the better to effect which Don John their General dreins most of the Garrisons, and compleats a body of sixteen thousand men, with which he marches with all speed through Fuernes, and Incamps within a mile and a half of Marshal Tureins Quarters, of which the Confederates having advice, immediately dislodged with a body of about fifteen thousand, leaving still enough to Guard the Trenches, and make good the approaches, if the Townsmen should attempt a Sally. With this Detachment of men, and ten pieces of Cannon, Turein faces the Spaniard: The English Foot were drawn up in four great Battalions and were ordered to give the first assault upon four other Battalions of Spanish Foot, who had the advantage of the ground, being placed upon three rising Hillocks, and were seconded by Don John himself.

The English were commanded by the L. Lockhart, who having first ordered a Forlorn Hope of 300 Musketeers to mount the Sand Hills, together with his own Regiment of Foot, under Coll Fenwick, they stoutly maintained their ground, though the Spaniards played down continual Volleys of shot among them, and the French refused to second them. He then sent another considerable Brigade to their relief, who instantly fell in with the But end of their Muskets among the Spanish Foot, and they not being used to such Club Law, left the Field and fled; whereupon the French Horse seeing the good fortune of the English Foot, fell in upon the Spanish Horse, few of whom stood the charge except those under the command of the Dukes of York and Gloucester, who after some resistance, were forced by the number of the assailants to follow the rest.

In this Battle a great part of the L. Lockharts Regiment were either slain or wounded, and Lt. Coll. Fenwick was killed by a Musket Buller. The slaughter was great, the French Horse being very severe in the pursuit, so that near 3000 were slain, and many Spanish Noblemen killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. This total rout of the Relievers Army put despair into the Dunkirkers, who could now expect no relief either by Sea or Land, the English Fleet blocking them up by Sea, and Don John of Austria not being able

to recruit his Army by Land : Yet the Marquess of Leda, their Governour, to demonstrate some courage, made frequent strong Sallies upon the French Quarters, which seemed to proceed rather from Despair than Valour, for he who was the life of the business received a wound in one of them, of which he shortly dyed and with him the Spaniards lost possession of the Town of Dunkirk, for after the French and English had played 14 days successively with their Mortar-pieces upon the place, the Besieged grew weary of the sport, and beat a Parley, and the Town was delivered up to them.

Dunkirk being established in the hands of the English, the French Army after about a months Siege, possess themselves of Graveling, a strong Fortress, not far from Dunkirk, so that the English and French had now in their hands all the Frontier Towns on this side Flanders.

Amidst these Triumphs and Successes, the Lady Claypool, the Protector's only Daughter, and whose image she was said to be, Dyed, Aug. 6. at Hampton-Court, from whence she was conveyed by Water four days after, with a great many Mourning Barges, to Westminster, and there laid in the Painted-Chamber, where a stately Hearse was prepared for her, and about Twelve at Night was carried into K. Henry VII. Chappel, and there interred in a place purposely provided for her. Her Death was said to be so grievous to her Father, that it was thought the cause of his own loon after, for having been very Melancholly from that time, till about the end of August, his distemper at length appeared to be a Tertian Ague, which together with other malignant humours, so depressed his Vitals, that it brought him to his end, though with many strivings and strugglings, he often fallen into Swouns and Trances. He could not be perswaded at first that his Distemper was mortal, saying, ' That as God had carried him to that height, he did firmly believe he had some further Work for him to do ; and some of his Chaplains were of the same opinion. But his Fits increasing and causing him to talk delirious, and to faint often, the Privy-Council concluding he could scarce endure another Fit, repaired to him, and earnestly pressed him, according to the first Article of the Petition and Advice, to Nominate his Successor ; and though he was hardly sensible, yet they demanding if he did not appoint his Eldest Son Richard to succeed him, he answered YES : The Night before his departure, he was observed to pray as followeth,

' LORD, I am a miserable Creature, yet I am in Covenant with Thee through Grace, and I may, I will come unto Thee for thy people : Lord, thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean Instrument to do them some good, and thee service, and many of them had too high a value for me, though others would be glad of my fall, But Lord, howsoever thou dost dispose of me, do good to them : Give consistency of judgment,

- one heart and mutual love unto them : Let the Name of Christ
- be Glorious throughout the World : Pardon such as delight to
- trample upon the Ashes of a Worm, and pardon the folly of this
- short Prayer, even for Jesus Christ his sake.

This was on Thursday Night, and on Friday Morning, Sept. 3. 1658. his twice Victorious day at Dunbar and Worcester, there appeared all the signs of a dying person, and about three a Clock in the Afternoon he expired. A day or two before his Death, a very great Tempest happned, which was thought to forebode it ; Which was then elegantly described by the Poet Laureat of that Age in the following Poem, wherein the wit must com pound for the flattery.

We must resign, Heaven his great Soul doth claime
In Storms as loud as his immortal Fame,
His Dying Groans, his last Breath shakes our Isle,
And Trees uncut fall for his Funeral Pile ;
About his Palace their broad Roots were tost
Into the Air ; So Romulus was lost :
New Rome in such a Tempest mist her King,
And from Obeying fell to Worshipping.

On Oeta's Top thus Hercules lay dead,
With Ruin'd Oaks, and Pines about him spread :
Those his last fury from the Mountain rent,
Our Dying Hero from the continent.
Ravish'd whole Towns and Forts from Spaniards rest,
As his last Legacy to Brittain left,
The Ocean which our Hopes so long confin'd
Could give no Limits to his Vaster Mind :
Our Bounds enlargement was his latest Toil :
Nor hath he left us Prisoners to our Isle.
Under the Tropick is, our Language spoke,
And part of Flanders hath received our Yoke.

From civil Broils he did us disengage
Found nobler objects for our Martial rage ;
And with wise Conduct to his Country shew'd
Their Ancient way of Conquering abroad :
Ingrateful then if we no Tears allow,
To him that gave us Peace and Empire too :
Princes that fear'd Him grieve, Concerned to see,
No pitch of Glory from the Grave is free.

Nature her self took Notice of his Death,
And sighing Swelled the Sea with such a Breath :
That to remotest Shoars Her Billows rould'd,
The approaching Fate of their Great Ruler told.

Thus you have a full account of the end of Oliver Cromwel, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, whose Valour mounted him to that height by which he raised his Family almost equal to the best of the Kingdom, and the Nation to that Glory, that Forreign Princes feared and envied him. He had two Sons, Richard who succeeded him, and Henry, who from sixteen years of Age, was by his Father bred a Souldier, and was at his Death Lord Deputy of Ireland: And Four Daughters Bridget first Married to the Lord Deputy Ireton, and afterward to the Lord Fleetwood. Elizabeth his second Daughter, Married to the Lord Cleypool, Master of his Horse. Mary his third, Married to the Lord Falconbridge. Frances his youngest, Married to the Lord Rich, Grandson to the Earl of Warwick.

After his expiration, the Corps was Imbalm'd, and wrapped in a sheet of Lead, and Sept. 26. about Ten at Night, removed from White-Hall in a Mourning Hearse, where his Effigies was with great Magnificence exposed publickly to the view of multitudes, whom came daily to see it, till November 3. following, and then in great State it was conducted from Somerset-House to Westminster, and placed in the Abbey-Church, under a stately Monument Erected for it, with the Banners and six Ensigns of Honour placed about it, the Corps having been some days before Buried in a Vault purposely provided for it, in King Henry the Seventh's Chappel.

Sic Transit Gloria Mundi.

FINIS.

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